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April 1888

THE WRITINGS

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

VOL. III.

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THE

WRITINGS

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON;

BEING HIS

CORRESPONDENCE, ADDRESSES, MESSAGES, AND OTHER

PAPERS, OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE,

SELECTED AND PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS;

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

NOTES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

By JARED SPARKS.

VOLUME III.

BOSTON:
RUSSELL, ODIORNE, AND METCALF,
AND
HILLIARD, GRAY, AND CO.

1834.

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PART SECOND;

COMPRISING

CORRESPONDENCE

AND

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

RELATING TO

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE SECOND PART.

This division of the work is intended to embrace the period of the American Revolution, and to include such of the letters and other writings of Washington, as have been selected for publication, from the time he was appointed Commander-in-chief of the army, till he resigned his commission at the end of the war. Whether regarded as to the variety, extent, and dignity of the topics on which they treat, as authentic materials for history, or as illustrating the character and acts of the great American patriot, these papers possess an extraordinary value and interest. They not only present an entire view of the operations in which Washington was engaged, as the military chieftain of the war of independence, through every stage of the contest, but they incidentally exhibit the internal condition and resources of the country, the spirit of the people, the policy, aims, and doings of the Continental Congress, and the origin and progress of the new forms of civil government, which were set up by the States and by smaller communities, as circumstances required, and to which the people, and even Washington at the head of his armies, rendered implicit obedience.

Two complete copies of Washington's revolutionary correspondence have been preserved at Mount Vernon. The first consists of the original files, which he always kept with him for reference and use in camp and in his campaigns; the second is a literal transcript from these originals, recorded in forty-four large volumes, in which all the letters are classified and arranged according to their subjects and dates. This transcript was executed under his own direction near the close of the war, by secretaries employed for the purpose, who wrote a fair and handsome hand, and on whose fidelity he could rely. Even the dimensions of the volumes, the quality of the paper, and the style of binding, were prescribed by himself. Each parcel in the files is designated by a letter of the alphabet, and each paper in the parcel is numbered. By the aid of corresponding marks in the margin of the letter-books, a sure and speedy reference may be had to any original paper in the whole series. A brief sketch of the plan, as drawn out by Washington, and a few explanatory remarks, will show at the same time the principles of the arrangement, and the varied subjects of his correspondence.

1. Under the first great division were classed letters to the Congress of the United States; to Committees of Congress; to the Board of War and Ordnance; to American Ministers Plenipotentiary at Foreign Courts; to individual Members of Congress in their Public Characters.

As he received his appointment, commission, instructions, and all his powers from Congress, it was necessary, that his intercourse with that body should be full, constant, and of the most confidential kind. In the first place, the army was new, undisciplined, unprovided; very few of the members of Congress were military men, or possessed any knowledge of military affairs either prac-

practical or theoretical; the burden of organizing and disciplining the army was at once thrown upon the Commander-in-chief. But all the arrangements of this sort, the rules and regulations, and every contemplated change, were to be approved by Congress before they could take effect; and Congress reserved wholly to themselves the appointment of the general officers. Thus it was not only the duty of Washington to obey instructions and execute orders, but he was obliged to suggest what these orders should be, and wait till his suggestions were passed into resolves by the Congress. This was frequently a source of delay and embarrassment; it was a heavy and perpetual tax upon the forethought and reflection of the Commander-in-chief, and made him virtually the head and soul of the whole military system, although a jealousy of their civil rights, and a fear of the tendency of warlike ambition, induced the members of Congress to keep a salutary check in their own hands. The condition of the army and an account of all the principal occurrences were communicated at stated times to Congress, doubtful cases were referred to their decision, and returns forwarded respecting the departments of the commissaries, quartermasters, and other officers engaged in providing for the wants of the army, and regulating its internal economy. The intimate and peculiar relations, thus subsisting between Congress and the army, gave rise to a correspondence, which, although it necessarily ran into details, was nevertheless of great importance. For similar purposes he kept up an intercourse by letter with Committees of Congress, the Board of War, and individual members. By these means his views were always presented to that assembly, and guided them in their deliberations and resolves.

2. Letters to Provincial Congresses, Conventions, and Committees of Safety; to Governors, Presidents,

and other Executives of States; to Civil Magistrates and Citizens of every Denomination.

Although the army was under the general control and pay of the Continental Congress, and the number of men to be furnished by each State was prescribed from time to time by that body, yet the mode of raising the men, and in part the supplying of them with arms and clothing, were left to the States themselves. It was the business of the Commander-in-chief to see, that the men were actually brought into the field at the proper times and places, as well as to call out the militia upon emergencies and to dismiss them when their services were no longer required. This duty opened a wide field of correspondence with the States, and some of Washington's best letters are circulars to the governors, making appeals to the patriotism of the people, and urging powerful motives for exertion and sacrifice in the common cause. Wherever the army was stationed, he was always cautious to keep the military and civil powers distinct, and to refer to the respective States all matters of a local nature, which did not clearly come within the jurisdiction of the army. The delicate and troublesome concerns of the Tories were of this description. The safety of the country required him to use the force he commanded to apprehend suspected persons; but he invariably turned them over to the civil authorities of the State in which they resided, to be dealt with as the proper tribunals should decide. Occasions frequently occurred, likewise, for corresponding with the committees of towns and smaller districts or communities.

3. Letters to Officers of the Line of every Rank; to Officers of the Staff; and to all other Military Characters.

The correspondence under this head is much more voluminous, than that under either of the others. It

extends to the whole army of the United States, however divided or wherever stationed; to the commanding officers in the great departments, to major-generals and other officers on separate commands at posts or in detachments, to officers of every rank engaged in any special service, such as partisan enterprises, foraging expeditions, or schemes for attacking the enemy's outposts, or procuring intelligence. It also includes instructions to officers from the highest to the lowest; directions for the arrangements in camp, as well as the movements during a campaign; letters to quartermasters, commissaries, contractors, the clothier-general and his deputies, and all others concerned in providing supplies for the army; to surgeons and superintendents of the hospitals; to militia officers while on Continental service; and to other persons acting in a military capacity within the sphere of his command.

4. Letters to Foreign Ministers; to Subjects of Foreign Nations in the immediate Service of the United States; to Foreign Officers.

When the French army came to America, it was, by a previous stipulation, to be under the command of Washington, while acting in concert with the American army. This arrangement, as well as the mutual plans for coöperation, necessarily caused much correspondence between Washington, Count Rochambeau, Count d'Estaing, and other commanders of the French army and navy. In this the ministers from France to Congress participated, as the French military affairs in the United States were under their general supervision and guidance.

5. Letters to Officers of every Rank and Denomination in the Service of the Enemy; to British Subjects of every Description with the Enemy; to Persons applying for Permission to go to the Enemy.

The most important letters under this head are those to the British commanders on various topics, but chiefly relating to the exchange of prisoners, in which there were many difficulties emanating from the peculiar relations of the two contending armies to each other, and the manner in which the British government regarded the nature of the contest at the beginning of the war.

6. Private Letters.

In this division is included a long list of letters; and although they are classed as private, yet they are mostly on subjects appertaining to public concerns. They are not official; but many of them were written to persons in public stations, and intended to promote a purpose by stronger representations and the force of motives more delicate, than it was expedient to exhibit for general inspection. In this view they may be considered as expressing the unreserved sentiments of their author, and as explaining his designs and conduct on occasions, where the caution required in his official despatches must leave much for inference or conjecture. A few are mere letters of friendship; but even in such cases the great work in which he was engaged seems to have absorbed his thoughts, and suggested the principal topics for his pen.

Such is the mode projected and adopted by General Washington himself for classifying his papers, while Commander-in-chief of the American army. Such is the broad outline of the topics to which they extend. The arrangement is, in the first instance, according to subjects; and, in the second, according to the order of time; that is, the mass of letters is formed into six distinct classes, and those in each class are brought together consecutively by their dates. In preparing them for publication, it has been thought preferable to throw them all into the order of time, thus preserving a strict continuity in the

events to which they relate. This method, indeed, is the only one by which a just understanding of the papers can be obtained, without much trouble in referring from one part to another; since the subjects upon which they treat are not of an abstract nature, but commonly relate to the affairs in which the writer was immediately concerned, and are blended in the general train of the correspondence.

In selecting the letters for this part of the work, I have endeavoured to adhere strictly to the same principles, which have already been explained in the Introduction to the First Part. The question has been asked, how far Washington may be considered the actual author of the immense number of letters, to which, in his official and private capacity, he affixed his name. This is a question rather of curiosity, than of any essential interest or consequence, and one which it would be quite impossible at this day to answer, in regard to every individual case. The letters have been preserved as they were transcribed into letter-books, and in the different handwriting of a great many copyists, who were employed from time to time for this purpose. The first drafts have been for the most part destroyed; for even in the correspondence during the revolution, which now exists in the files that were used at the time, the letters thus filed are not in every instance the first drafts, but copies, so that it is impossible now to tell by whom they were originally penned. All the letters printed in the First Part of this work, embracing the period before the revolution, I believe were written by Washington himself, because a large proportion of them are still to be found in his own handwriting, either in the condition of first drafts, or as transcribed by himself; and because, while acting as an officer in the French war, he seldom if ever had the services of a secretary,

and at Mount Vernon he was certainly his own scribe, both in his correspondence and in his extensive transactions of business.

That he wrote with his own hand all his official letters during the revolution, it would be as preposterous to suppose, as that Marlborough, or Bonaparte, or Wellington, or any other great commander, was the penman of all the letters to which he subscribed his name. Compositions of this kind are not adduced as evidences of the genius, the rhetorical ingenuity, the brilliant fancy, the felicitous invention, or the literary accomplishments of the persons, whose names they bear. The value to be attached to them, and the high consideration, which they justly claim, are derived from the circumstance of their being records of great events, expressing the opinions and unfolding the designs of men, in whose conduct and motives the destinies of nations are involved. They are the highest and purest fountains of history, and by whatever hand the written language is constructed, the spirit and substance, the principles, facts, arguments, and purposes, must necessarily be considered as flowing from him, by whose name they are sanctioned; he is responsible for the whole; his character and reputation, as well as the vital interests of the cause entrusted to him, are at stake. Caution in weighing, and judgment in adopting the sentiments of others, are often not less indicative of true wisdom and greatness, than the power to originate and combine. It will be seen, by hints contained in several of Washington's letters, that his personal labor in writing was at times intense, even amidst the harassing cares and oppressive burdens under which he struggled in discharging his military duties. When he resorted to the assistance of his secretary, aids, or other persons, it was his custom sometimes to prepare brief minutes of the topics, which he wished to

have introduced into a letter, and leave the arrangement and style to the amanuensis. At other times he would dictate in detail the substance of a despatch; and again, when the subject was of minor importance, he would give general directions only, which the secretary would embody in his own language.

There is no feature more remarkable, however, in the whole series of correspondence, than the similarity which prevails throughout in the style, the turns of expression, the habits of thought, and particularly the methods of stating facts and enforcing arguments. This will be obvious upon a very slight inspection; and no stronger proof can be required of the pervading influence of one master-mind, whatever instruments it may have employed to communicate its sentiments and effect its designs. It should be stated, moreover, that the originals of many of the ablest and best written papers, which will appear in the present work, may still be seen in the handwriting of the author. It is a mistake, which some have been too ready to adopt, that he was not accustomed to composition. The truth is, he commenced the habit very early, and practised it assiduously till the end of his life. It is equally true, that his defective education qualified him but indifferently to attain elegance or even accuracy of style. But he knew when his thoughts were clearly and forcibly expressed. To convey his meaning with directness and emphasis was his chief study. Though he frequently betrayed a want of skill in the construction of his sentences, yet he was fastidious in the use of words, as is manifest from the numerous verbal erasures and insertions in his original manuscripts. Indeed he seldom suffered a paper of any sort to go out of his hands, even an ordinary letter of friendship or business, without first composing and correcting it with studious care, and then transcribing a fair

copy. Bundles of letters to the managers of his farms, written in the midst of his weightiest public duties, afford a striking testimony to this fact.

The notes and other illustrations, comprised in this Second Part of the work, have been drawn from materials of the highest authenticity, collected in a wide range of research, and with much expense of time and labor. In the first place, the letters received by Washington during the war, amounting to several thousands in number, the records of councils of war and courts-martial, the opinions of the general officers on important subjects, the orderly books, resolves of public bodies, and reports of committees, all of which are among his papers, afford a rich treasure of facts, to which I have constantly resorted. The manuscript papers relating to the revolution, which are deposited in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington, containing all that remains of the proceedings and correspondence of the Old Continental Congress, I have also personally examined. For the same purpose I have visited the several States, which belonged to the original Confederation and took part in the war, and have examined in the public offices of each State the manuscript papers appertaining to the period under consideration. It has moreover been my good fortune, through the politeness of individuals, to gain access to many private collections of papers, including the entire correspondence of several of the major and brigadier generals of the army, the members of the Old Congress, and other civil and military officers of distinction. The materials thus collected, being original and perfectly authentic, and proceeding from the highest sources, possess a value which may easily be estimated.

In England and France my researches were pursued with no less perseverance and success. With a liber-

ality on the part of the governments of both these countries, which demands the warmest acknowledgments, I was permitted to inspect in the public archives all the papers, which relate to the American war. The task occupied nearly twelve months of close application, but the labor was abundantly rewarded by the results. The British offices opened to me the complete correspondence of the ministers, Lord Dartmouth and Lord George Germain, with the governors of the colonies at the beginning of the contest, and with the commanders in America during the whole war, namely, Generals Gage, Howe, Burgoyne, Clinton, Robertson, Carleton, Cornwallis, and others of subordinate rank. The original correspondence of the British Commissioners, while negotiating the peace in Paris, was likewise examined; and also the original papers presented from time to time by Lord North to Parliament.

In Paris my researches embraced the voluminous correspondence between Count Vergennes and the French ministers, Gerard and Luzerne, while they were in the United States, amounting in all to nearly four hundred despatches, and unfolding the policy and views of the French government from the beginning to the end of the war; also *Mémoires* and other papers on American affairs, written by members of the cabinet, or by able jurisconsults employed for that purpose. In the archives of the Department of War, the despatches of Count Rochambeau, and other officers commanding the French army in America, were submitted to my examination, and such copies as I desired were allowed to be taken.

I feel it a duty, as well as a pleasure, to express on this occasion the very high obligations, which I have been under to several gentlemen in Europe, who rendered most generous and valuable services in promoting

the object of my inquiries, particularly to Sir James Mackintosh, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Holland, in London; to General Lafayette and the Marquis de Marbois, in Paris; and to these I may add Mr. Lawrence, at that time *Chargé d'Affaires* from the United States to the Court of Great Britain; and Mr. Brown, the American Minister Plenipotentiary in France.

From the large extent and various nature of the papers above indicated, it is obvious that only a partial use can be made of them in illustrating the writings of Washington; yet, as they all have a bearing on the great train of events, in which he acted the most conspicuous part, they contain many particulars explanatory of the designs of persons and parties, which could not be known at the time he wrote, and others that will throw additional light upon the topics which employed his pen, and the affairs in which he was engaged. In preparing the notes, I have relied almost exclusively on manuscript authorities, and avoided as much as possible the encumbering of the pages with matter, which is already accessible in printed books. By this process I trust it will be found, that some valuable accessions have been made to history, at the same time that the character and deeds of Washington have received new elucidation.

The plans of battles and military movements, which are occasionally inserted for a better understanding of the text, have been compiled from the best drawings that could be procured, as well English and French as American. In this design I have been specially aided by a series of manuscript drawings in the possession of General Lafayette, which were taken by a French engineer attached to his staff, and which are executed with scientific accuracy and beauty. Some of the old drawings, published at the time in London from imper-

fect sketches and surveys, I have been able to correct by the documents, to which I have had access, and by actual inspection, having personally visited nearly all the localities, which were the theatre of the chief operations of the American revolutionary war. No pains have been spared to give these plans all the accuracy, of which they are susceptible on so small a scale, and with the present means of information.

CORRESPONDENCE

AND

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

RELATING TO

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

ANSWER TO CONGRESS ON HIS APPOINTMENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. *

In Congress, 16 June, 1775.

Mr. President,

Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me, in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered

* On the 15th of June, Colonel Washington was chosen unanimously by the Continental Congress to be General and Commander-in-chief of the American Army. The election was by ballot. As soon as the Congress assembled the next morning, the President informed him officially of this appointment. Colonel Washington then arose in his place, and returned the above answer. Before the Congress proceeded to ballot for a general, it had been resolved, that his pay should be five hundred dollars a month. See Appendix, No. I.

by every gentleman in the room, that I, this day, declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge; and that is all I desire.

TO MRS. MARTHA WASHINGTON.*

Philadelphia, 18 June, 1775.

My Dearest,

I am now set down to write to you on a subject, which fills me with inexpressible concern, and this concern is greatly aggravated and increased, when I reflect upon the uneasiness I know it will give you. It has been determined in Congress, that the whole army raised for the defence of the American cause shall be put under my care, and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take upon me the command of it.

You may believe me, my dear Patsy, when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavour in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month

* This is the only letter from Washington to his wife, which has come into my hands. It is understood, that Mrs. Washington destroyed all his other letters to her a short time before her death.

with you at home, than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny, that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose. You might, and I suppose did perceive, from the tenor of my letters, that I was apprehensive I could not avoid this appointment, as I did not pretend to intimate when I should return. That was the case. It was utterly out of my power to refuse this appointment, without exposing my character to such censures, as would have reflected dishonor upon myself, and given pain to my friends. This, I am sure, could not, and ought not, to be pleasing to you, and must have lessened me considerably in my own esteem. I shall rely, therefore, confidently on that Providence, which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting but that I shall return safe to you in the fall. I shall feel no pain from the toil or the danger of the campaign; my unhappiness will flow from the uneasiness I know you will feel from being left alone. I therefore beg, that you will summon your whole fortitude, and pass your time as agreeably as possible. Nothing will give me so much sincere satisfaction as to hear this, and to hear it from your own pen. My earnest and ardent desire is, that you would pursue any plan that is most likely to produce content, and a tolerable degree of tranquillity; as it must add greatly to my uneasy feelings to hear, that you are dissatisfied or complaining at what I really could not avoid.

As life is always uncertain, and common prudence dictates to every man the necessity of settling his temporal concerns, while it is in his power, and while the mind is calm and undisturbed, I have, since I came to this place (for I had not time to do it before I left

home) got Colonel Pendleton* to draft a will for me, by the directions I gave him, which will I now enclose. The provision made for you in case of my death will, I hope, be agreeable.

I shall add nothing more, as I have several letters to write, but to desire that you will remember me to your friends, and to assure you that I am, with the most unfeigned regard, my dear Patsy, your affectionate, &c.

TO THE CAPTAINS OF SEVERAL INDEPENDENT COMPANIES IN VIRGINIA.

Philadelphia, 20 June, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

I am now about to bid adieu to the companies under your respective commands, at least for a while. I have launched into a wide and extensive field, too boundless for my abilities, and far, very far, beyond my experience. I am called, by the unanimous voice of the Colonies, to the command of the Continental army; an honor I did not aspire to; an honor I was solicitous to avoid, upon a full conviction of my inadequacy to the importance of the service. The partiality of the Congress, however, assisted by a political motive, rendered my reasons unavailing, and I shall to-morrow set out for the camp near Boston.

I have only to beg of you, therefore, before I go, (especially as you did me the honor to put your companies under my direction, and know not how soon you may be called upon in Virginia for an exertion of your

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* Colonel Edmund Pendleton, at this time a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress.

military skill,) by no means to relax in the discipline of your respective companies.*

I have the honor to be, &c.

TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, 20 June, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,

I am now to bid adieu to you, and to every kind of domestic ease, for a while. I am embarked on a wide ocean, boundless in its prospect, and in which, perhaps, no safe harbour is to be found. I have been called upon by the unanimous voice of the Colonies to take the command of the Continental army; an honor I neither sought after, nor desired, as I am thoroughly convinced, that it requires greater abilities and much more experi-

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* The reply of the Independent Company of Alexandria to this letter is an evidence of the warm attachment of his friends, at the same time that it is remarkable for the sentiments it expresses, even at so late a day, in regard to a conciliation with Great Britain.

"Your favor of the 20th ultimo, notifying us of your intended departure for the camp, we received, and, after transmitting copies to the different officers, to whom it was directed, we laid it before a full meeting of your company this day. At the same time that they deplore the unfortunate occasion, that calls you, their patron, friend, and worthy citizen, from them and your more tender connexions, they beg your acceptance of their most hearty congratulations upon your appointment to the supreme military command of the American confederated forces. Firmly convinced, Sir, of your zealous attachment to the rights of your country, and those of mankind, and of your earnest desire, that harmony and good will should again take place between us and our parent state, we well know, that your every exertion will be invariably employed to preserve the one and effect the other.

"We are to inform you, Sir, by desire of the company, that, if at any time you shall judge it expedient for them to join the troops at Cambridge, or to march elsewhere, they will cheerfully do it. We now recommend you to the favor of Him, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, wishing all your counsels and operations to be directed by his gracious providence to a happy and lasting union between us and Great Britain."

ence, than I am master of, to conduct a business so extensive in its nature, and arduous in the execution. But the partiality of the Congress, joined to a political motive, really left me without a choice; and I am now commissioned a General and Commander-in-chief of all the forces now raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the United Colonies. That I may discharge the trust to the satisfaction of my employers, is my first wish; that I shall aim to do it, there remains little doubt. How far I may succeed, is another point; but this I am sure of, that, in the worst event, I shall have the consolation of knowing, if I act to the best of my judgment, that the blame ought to lodge upon the appointers, not the appointed, as it was by no means a thing of my own seeking, or proceeding from any hint of my friends.

I am at liberty to inform you, that the Congress, in committee, have consented to a Continental currency, and have ordered two millions of dollars to be struck for payment of the troops, and other purposes, and have voted fifteen thousand men as a Continental army, which number will be augmented, as the strength of the British troops will be greater than was expected at the time of passing that vote. General Ward, General Lee, General Schuyler, and General Putnam are appointed Major-Generals under me. The Brigadier-Generals are not yet appointed. Major Gates is made Adjutant-General.* I expect to set out to-morrow for Boston, and

* General Ward had already been appointed, by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, commander of all the forces raised by that colony, and was now in Cambridge at the head of the army. Generals Lee and Schuyler were in Philadelphia, and accompanied the Commander-in-chief to New York. Lee continued with him to head-quarters. Putnam was in Cambridge, commanding the Connecticut troops. Gates was at his seat in Berkley County, Virginia, but speedily joined the army.

Lee was a colonel on half-pay in the British army, but he resigned

hope to be joined there in a little time by ten companies of riflemen from this province, Maryland, and Virginia. For other articles of intelligence, I shall refer you to the papers, as the printers are diligent in collecting every thing that is stirring.

I shall hope that my friends will visit and endeavour to keep up the spirits of my wife, as much as they can, for my departure will, I know, be a cutting stroke upon her; and on this account alone I have many disagreeable sensations. I hope that you and my sister, although the distance is great, will find so much time this summer as to spend a little of it at Mount Vernon.

My sincere regards attend you both, and the little ones, and I am your most affectionate brother.

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his commission, by a formal letter to the Secretary at War, as soon as he was appointed major-general by the Congress, and before he received a commission in the American army. He had been a soldier from his youth, and had seen much service in America during the French war, and afterwards in Europe. When he received this appointment, he had been only about eighteen months in the colonies, but that time had mostly been spent in travelling. He thus formed many acquaintances, and inspired the public with a high opinion of his military character. His friend Gates had induced him to buy lands in Virginia, beyond the Blue Ridge, where he sometimes resided. Gates, also, had been an officer in the British army. He was a captain at Braddock's defeat, where he was wounded; and he rose afterwards to the rank of major, which he resigned, and retired from the service, purchasing lands and settling himself as a planter in Virginia. A friendly intercourse had long subsisted between him and Washington. He was appointed Adjutant-General by the Congress, at the express solicitation of the Commander-in-chief, with the rank of brigadier. General Washington wrote to him immediately after his appointment, and Gates replied in very cordial terms, adding in conclusion; — "I will not intrude more upon your time, only to assure you, that I shall not lose a moment in paying you my personal attendance, with the greatest respect for your character, and the sincerest attachment to your person." Gates arrived in Cambridge before the middle of July. Both Lee and Gates had passed several days at Mount Vernon six weeks previously, just before Washington left home for the Continental Congress.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, PHILADELPHIA.

New York, 25 June, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

The rain on Friday afternoon and Saturday, the advice of several gentlemen of the Jerseys and this city, by no means to cross Hudson's River at the lower ferry, and some other occurrences too trivial to mention, which happened on the road, prevented my arrival at this place, until the afternoon of this day.*

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* The following is an extract from the Journals of the New York Provincial Congress.

"*June, 25th.* — A letter from General Schuyler being read, dated at New Brunswick, June 24th, informing this Congress that General Washington, with his retinue, would be at Newark this morning, and requesting this Congress to send some of its members to meet him, and advise the most proper place for him to cross the Hudson River on his way to New York;

"Ordered, that Messrs. Smith, Hobart, Gouverneur Morris, and Richard Montgomery go immediately to Newark, and recommend to General Washington the place, which they shall think most prudent for him to cross at."

News came at the same time, that Governor Tryon was in the harbour, just arrived from England, and would land that day. The Congress were a good deal embarrassed to determine how to act on this occasion; for though they had thrown off all allegiance to the authority of their governor, yet they professed to maintain loyalty to his person. They finally ordered a colonel so to dispose of his militia companies, that they might be in a condition to receive "either the Generals, or Governor Tryon, whichever should first arrive, and wait on both as well as circumstances would allow." Events proved less perplexing than had been apprehended, as General Washington arrived several hours previous to the landing of Governor Tryon.

Before General Washington left Philadelphia, he reviewed in that city several companies of infantry, rangers, riflemen, artillery, and a troop of light-horse, amounting in all to two thousand men under arms. They escorted him out of the city, and the troop of light-horse accompanied him to New York. He remained in New York till the 26th, when he departed under the escort of several military companies, passed the night at Kingsbridge, and the next morning proceeded on his journey. The Philadelphia light-horse left him at Kingsbridge, and returned.

In the morning, after giving General Schuyler such orders, as, from the result of my inquiry into matters here, appear necessary, I shall set out on my journey to the camp at Boston, and shall proceed with all the despatch in my power. Powder is so essential an article, that I cannot help again repeating the necessity of a supply. The camp at Boston, from the best account I can get from thence, is but very poorly supplied. At this place, they have scarce any. How they are provided at General Wooster's camp, I have not been able yet to learn.*

Governor Tryon is arrived, and General Schuyler is directed to advise you of the line of conduct he moves in. I fear it will not be very favorable to the American cause.

I have only to add, that I am, with the greatest respect and regard, gentlemen, your most obedient and obliged humble servant.

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* General Wooster commanded the forces, which had been raised by Connecticut, and which were stationed on the shores of Long Island Sound, to protect the southern borders of that colony. On the 15th of June, a rumor having been spread, that a regiment of British troops was soon to be landed in the city of New York from Ireland, the Provincial Congress invited General Wooster to march within five miles of the city for its defence, and while there to be under the command of the Continental Congress, or that of New York. This request being approved by the government of Connecticut, General Wooster marched eighteen hundred men to the neighbourhood of the city, on the 28th of June, where he remained several weeks. — *MS. Journal of the New York Provincial Congress.*

In reply to General Wooster's letter of consent, the Congress add: — "We beg leave to testify to you our high sense of the readiness, which you show to assist our colony. That honest zeal, which inspirits the bosom of our countrymen in Connecticut, commands our admiration and praise."

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, Sunday, 25 June, 1775;
5 o'clock, P. M.

Sir,

Upon my arrival here this afternoon, I was informed that an express was in town, from the provincial camp in Massachusetts Bay; and having seen, among the papers in his possession, a letter directed to you as President of the Congress, I have taken the liberty to open it. I was induced to take that liberty by several gentlemen of New York, who were anxious to know the particulars of the affair of the 17th instant,* and agreeably to the orders of many members of the Congress, who judged it necessary, that I should avail myself of the best information in the course of my journey.

You will find, Sir, by that letter, a great want of powder in the provincial army, which I sincerely hope the Congress will supply as speedily and as effectually as in their power. One thousand pounds in weight were sent to the camp at Cambridge, three days ago, from this city, which has left this place almost destitute of that necessary article; there being at this time, from the best information, not more than four barrels of powder in the city of New York. I propose to set off for the provincial camp to-morrow, and will use all possible despatch to join the forces there.

Please to make my compliments to the gentlemen of the Congress; and believe me to be, Sir, your obliged friend and humble servant.

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* The battle of Bunker's Hill.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER.

New York, 25 June, 1775.

SIR,

You are to take upon you the command of all the troops destined for the New York department, and see that the orders of the Continental Congress are carried into execution, with as much precision and exactness as possible.

For your better government therein, you are herewith furnished with a copy of the instructions given to me by that honorable body. Such parts as are within the line of your duty, you will please to pay particular attention to. Delay no time in occupying the several posts, recommended by the Provincial Congress of this colony, and putting them in a fit posture to answer the end designed; nor delay any time in securing the stores, which are, or ought to have been, removed from this city by order of the Continental Congress.

Keep a watchful eye upon Governor Tryon, and, if you find him directly or indirectly attempting any measures inimical to the common cause, use every means in your power to frustrate his designs.* It is not in my power, at this time, to point out the mode by which this end is to be accomplished; but if forcible measures are judged necessary, respecting the person of the Gover-

* Tryon had been governor of New York since August, 1771, and recently absent for several months in England. He was known to be extremely hostile to the movements in the colonies; and, possessing much talent and address, it was feared his influence would have a pernicious effect on the inhabitants of New York, who already manifested a lukewarmness and hesitancy by no means encouraging to the ardent champions of liberty. Hence the necessity of keeping an eye on his motions, and guarding against any schemes he might adopt to promote his aims. The mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city congratulated him in a public address, to which he replied; but there was no intercourse between him and the Provincial Congress. — *Almon's Remembrancer*, Vol. I. p. 180.

nor, I should have no difficulty in ordering them, if the Continental Congress were not sitting; but as this is the case, and the seizing of a governor quite a new thing, and of great importance, I must refer you to that body for direction, should his Excellency make any motion towards increasing the strength of the Tory party, or arming them against the cause in which we are embarked. In like manner, watch the movements of the Indian agent, Colonel Guy Johnson, and prevent, as far as you can, the effect of his influence to our prejudice with the Indians.* Obtain the best information you can of the temper and disposition of those people, and also of the Canadians, that a proper line may be marked out to conciliate their good opinion, or facilitate any future operation.

The posts on Lake Champlain you will please to have properly supplied with provisions and ammunition; and this I am persuaded you will aim at doing on the best terms, to prevent our good cause from sinking under a heavy load of expense. You will be pleased, also, to make regular returns to me, and to the Continental Congress, once a month, and oftener as occurrences may require, of the forces under your command, and of your provisions and stores, and give me the earliest advices of every piece of intelligence, which you shall judge of importance to be speedily known. Your own good sense must govern you in all matters not particularly pointed out, as I do not wish to circumscribe you within narrow limits. I am Sir, &c.

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* Guy Johnson resided at Guy Park, near the Mohawk River, at that time on the frontiers of New York, and had excited a good deal of uneasiness among the people, by the part he had taken with the Indians, and by the influence he was known to have over them. A correspondence of a pointed nature had already passed between him and the New York Provincial Congress. — *MS. Journals of the Congress for* 1775. — Also, Sparks's *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. I. p. 41.

ANSWER TO AN ADDRESS OF THE NEW YORK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

New York, 26 June, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

At the same time that with you I deplore the unhappy necessity of such an appointment, as that with which I am now honored, I cannot but feel sentiments of the highest gratitude for this affecting instance of distinction and regard.

May your every wish be realized in the success of America, at this important and interesting period; and be assured, that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself will be equally extended to the reëstablishment of peace and harmony between the mother country and the colonies, as to the fatal but necessary operations of war. When we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour, when the establishment of American liberty, upon the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country. I am, &c.*

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* The last paragraph of this answer is adapted to the sentiments, contained in the address of the Congress, to which it is a reply. At this time the members of the New York Congress, though zealous friends of their country, were timid and reluctant in adopting measures of resistance. Besides, their fears were not a little wrought upon by the British armed ship Asia, which presented a threatening attitude in the harbour, and evidently influenced their deliberations. — *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. I. p. 64.

"Confiding in you, Sir," they say to Washington, "and in the worthy Generals immediately under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurance, that whenever this important contest shall be decided by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit commit-

ANSWER TO AN ADDRESS OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS.*

4 July, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

Your kind congratulations on my appointment and arrival, demand my warmest acknowledgments, and will ever be retained in grateful remembrance.

In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic life for the duties of my present honorable but arduous station, I only emulate the virtue and public spirit of the whole province of Massachusetts Bay, which, with a firmness and patriotism without example in modern history, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life, in support of the rights of mankind, and the welfare of our common country. My highest ambition is to be the happy instrument of vindicating those rights, and to see this devoted province again restored to peace, liberty, and safety.

The short space of time, which has elapsed since my arrival, does not permit me to decide upon the state of the army. The course of human affairs forbids an expectation, that troops formed under such circumstances should at once possess the order, regularity, and discipline of veterans. Whatever deficiencies there may be, will, I doubt not, soon be made up by the activity

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ted into your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen."

This was a broad hint to a military commander-in-chief, but it was very delicately and appropriately met by Washington in his reply; and it is worthy of remark, that this early declaration was literally and cordially verified on his part throughout the whole progress of the war, and especially at its close.

* General Washington arrived in Cambridge on the 2d of July, and took command of the army on the 3d. The Massachusetts Congress were at this time convened at Watertown, three miles from Cambridge, and on his arrival they honored him with a congratulatory address. — See APPENDIX. No. II.

and zeal of the officers, and the docility and obedience of the men. These qualities, united with their native bravery and spirit, will afford a happy presage of success, and put a final period to those distresses, which now overwhelm this once happy country.

I most sincerely thank you, Gentlemen, for your declarations of readiness at all times to assist me in the discharge of the duties of my station. They are so complicated and extended, that I shall need the assistance of every good man, and lover of his country. I therefore repose the utmost confidence in your aid. In return for your affectionate wishes to myself, permit me to say, that I earnestly implore that divine Being, in whose hands are all human events, to make you and your constituents as distinguished in private and public happiness, as you have been by ministerial oppression, and by private and public distress.

TO JAMES WARREN, PRESIDENT OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Head-Quarters, Cambridge, 10 July, 1775.

SIR,

After much difficulty and delay, I have procured such returns of the state of the army, as will enable us to form a judgment of its strength. It is with great concern I find it to be very inadequate to our general expectations, and the duties that may be required of it. The number of men fit for duty in the forces raised in this province, including all the outposts and artillery, does not amount to nine thousand. The troops raised in the other colonies are more complete, but yet fall short of their establishment; so that, upon the whole, I cannot estimate the present army at more than fourteen

thousand five hundred men capable of duty. I have the satisfaction to find the troops, both in camp and quarters, very healthy; so that the deficiency must arise from the regiments never having been filled up to the establishment, and from the number of men on furlough; but the former cause is by much the most considerable. Under all these circumstances, I yesterday called a council of war, and enclosed I send you an extract of our determination, so far as it respects the province of Massachusetts Bay.* Your own prudence will suggest the necessity of secrecy on this subject, as we have the utmost reason to believe, that the enemy suppose our numbers much greater than they are, an error which it is not our interest to remove.

The great extent of our lines, and the uncertainty where may be the point of attack, added to the necessity of immediate support, have induced me to order that horses ready saddled should be kept at several posts, in order to bring the most early intelligence of any movement of the enemy. For this purpose, I should be glad that ten horses may be provided as soon as possible. I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.†

P. S. As I am informed, that the Congress purposes to rise immediately, I should be glad to know what committees are to be left, or upon whom the executive business will devolve.‡

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* It had been determined in a council of war, that the army ought to be increased as soon as possible, that an officer should be sent from each of the Massachusetts companies to recruit for the regiments to which they respectively belonged, and that the General should apply to the Provincial Congress for a temporary reinforcement.

† See APPENDIX, No. III.

‡ The Provincial Congress was dissolved on the 19th of July, but the General Assembly met on the same day, and exercised all the powers of government, though in a somewhat different form.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 10 July, 1775.

SIR,

I arrived safe at this place on the 3d instant, after a journey attended with a good deal of fatigue, and retarded by necessary attentions to the successive civilities, which accompanied me in my whole route.

Upon my arrival, I immediately visited the several posts occupied by our troops; and, as soon as the weather permitted, reconnoitred those of the enemy. I found the latter strongly intrenching on Bunker's Hill, about a mile from Charlestown, and advanced about half a mile from the place of the late action, with their sentries extended about one hundred and fifty yards on this side of the narrowest part of the neck leading from this place to Charlestown. Three floating batteries lie in Mystic River near their camp, and one twenty-gun ship below the ferry-place between Boston and Charlestown. They have also a battery on Cops Hill, on the Boston side, which much annoyed our troops in the late attack. Upon Roxbury Neck, they are also deeply intrenched and strongly fortified. Their advanced guards, till last Saturday, occupied Brown's houses, about a mile from Roxbury meeting-house, and twenty rods from their lines; but, at that time, a party from General Thomas's camp surprised the guard, drove them in, and burned the houses. The bulk of their army, commanded by General Howe, lies on Bunker's Hill, and the remainder on Roxbury Neck, except the light-horse, and a few men in the town of Boston.

On our side, we have thrown up intrenchments on Winter and Prospect Hills, the enemy's camp in full view, at the distance of little more than a mile. Such intermediate points as would admit a landing, I have

since my arrival taken care to strengthen, down to Sewall's farm, where a strong intrenchment has been thrown up. At Roxbury, General Thomas has thrown up a strong work on the hill, about two hundred yards above the meeting-house; which, with the brokenness of the ground, and a great number of rocks, has made that pass very secure. The troops raised in New Hampshire, with a regiment from Rhode Island, occupy Winter Hill; a part of those from Connecticut, under General Putnam, are on Prospect Hill. The troops in this town are entirely of the Massachusetts; the remainder of the Rhode Island men are at Sewall's farm. Two regiments of Connecticut, and nine of the Massachusetts, are at Roxbury. The residue of the army, to the number of about seven hundred, are posted in several small towns along the coast, to prevent the depredations of the enemy.

Upon the whole, I think myself authorized to say, that, considering the great extent of line and the nature of the ground, we are as well secured, as could be expected in so short a time, and with the disadvantages we labor under. These consist in a want of engineers to construct proper works and direct the men, a want of tools, and a sufficient number of men to man the works in case of an attack. You will observe, by the proceedings of the council of war, which I have the honor to enclose, that it is our unanimous opinion, to hold and defend these works as long as possible. The discouragement it would give the men, and its contrary effects on the ministerial troops, thus to abandon our encampment in their face, formed with so much labor and expense, added to the certain destruction of a considerable and valuable extent of country, and our uncertainty of finding a place in all respects so capable of making a stand, are leading reasons for this determination. At

the same time we are very sensible of the difficulties, which attend the defence of lines of so great extent, and the dangers, which may ensue from such a division of the army.*

My earnest wish to comply with the instructions of the Congress, in making an early and complete return of the state of the army, has led to an involuntary delay of addressing you; which has given me much concern. Having given orders for that purpose immediately on my arrival, and not then so well apprised of the imperfect obedience, which had been paid to those of the like nature from General Ward, I was led from day to day to expect they would come in, and therefore detained the messenger. They are not now so complete as I could wish; but much allowance is to be made for inexperience in forms, and a liberty which had been taken (not given) on this subject. These reasons, I flatter myself, will no longer exist; and, of consequence, more regularity and exactness will in future prevail. This, with a necessary attention to the lines, the movements of the ministerial troops, and our immediate security, must be my apology, which I beg you to lay before Congress with the utmost duty and respect.†

We labor under great disadvantages for want of tents;

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* The first council of war was held at head-quarters on the 9th of July, attended by the major-generals and the brigadiers. The council decided, that, from the best information, the number of the enemy's forces in Boston should be estimated at eleven thousand five hundred men. On the question whether it was expedient to defend the posts now occupied, or retire farther into the country, it was unanimously determined to defend the posts. It was also agreed, that twenty-two thousand men at least were necessary to act against the supposed force of the enemy, and that measures ought to be immediately taken to increase the army by recruits. It was further agreed, that, if the troops should be attacked, and routed by the enemy, the place of rendezvous should be Wales's Hill, in the rear of the Roxbury lines.

† See APPENDIX, No. IV.

for, though they have been helped out by a collection of sails from the seaport towns, the number is far short of our necessities. The colleges and houses of this town are necessarily occupied by the troops; which affords another reason for keeping our present station. But I most sincerely wish the whole army was properly provided to take the field, as I am well assured, that, besides greater expedition and activity in case of alarm, it would highly conduce to health and discipline. As materials are not to be had here, I would beg leave to recommend the procuring of a farther supply from Philadelphia, as soon as possible.

I should be extremely deficient in gratitude, as well as justice, if I did not take the first opportunity to acknowledge the readiness and attention, which the Provincial Congress and different committees have shown, to make every thing as convenient and agreeable as possible.* But there is a vital and inherent principle of delay incompatible with military service, in transacting business through such numerous and different channels. I esteem it, therefore, my duty to represent the inconvenience, which must unavoidably ensue from a dependence on a number of persons for supplies; and submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether the

* Before General Washington left Philadelphia, he requested the Massachusetts delegates in Congress to recommend to him such bodies of men, and individuals, as he might apply to with confidence in that colony. They answered him in writing, and referred him particularly to the Committee on the State of the Province, the Committee of Safety, and the Committee of Supplies. They moreover enumerated the following gentlemen, as worthy and trusty friends of the cause, on whose judgment and fidelity he might rely, namely, Bowdoin, Sever, Dexter, Greenleaf, Pitts, Otis, of the late council; John Winthrop; Joseph Hawley, of Northampton; James Warren, of Plymouth; Colonel Palmer, of Braintree; Colonel Orne and Elbridge Gerry, of Marblehead; Dr. Warren, Dr. Church, John Pitts, Dr. Chauncy, Dr. Cooper, of Boston; Dr. Langdon, President of Harvard College; and Colonel Foster, of Brookfield.—*MS. Letter, June 22d.*

public service will not be best promoted by appointing a commissary-general for these purposes. We have a striking instance of the preference of such a mode, in the establishment of Connecticut, as their troops are extremely well provided under the direction of Mr. Trumbull, and he has at different times assisted others with various articles. Should my sentiments happily coincide with those of your Honors on this subject, I beg leave to recommend Mr. Trumbull as a very proper person for this department. In the arrangement of troops collected under such circumstances, and upon the spur of immediate necessity, several appointments have been omitted, which appear to be indispensably necessary for the good government of the army, particularly a quartermaster-general, a commissary of musters, and a commissary of artillery. These I must particularly recommend to the notice and provision of the Congress.*

I find myself already much embarrassed, for want of a military chest. These embarrassments will increase every day. I must therefore most earnestly request, that money may be forwarded as soon as possible. The want of this most necessary article will, I fear, produce great inconveniences, if not prevented by an early attention. I find the army in general, and the troops raised in Massachusetts in particular, very deficient in necessary clothing. Upon inquiry, there appears no probability of obtaining any supplies in this quarter; and, on the best consideration of this matter I am able to form, I am of opinion that a number of hunting-shirts, not less than ten thousand, would in a great degree remove this difficulty, in the cheapest and quickest manner. I know nothing, in a speculative view, more trivial,

* When this application was considered by Congress, the appointment of these officers was left to the Commander-in-chief.

yet which, if put in practice, would have a happier tendency to unite the men, and abolish those provincial distinctions, that lead to jealousy and dissatisfaction.

In a former part of this letter, I mentioned the want of engineers. I can hardly express the disappointment I have experienced on this subject, the skill of those we have being very imperfect, and confined to the mere manual exercise of cannon; whereas the war in which we are engaged requires a knowledge, comprehending the duties of the field, and fortification. If any persons thus qualified are to be found in the southern colonies, it would be of great public service to forward them with all expedition.

Upon the article of ammunition, I must reëcho the former complaints on this subject. We are so exceedingly destitute, that our artillery will be of little use, without a supply both large and seasonable. What we have must be reserved for the small arms, and that managed with the utmost frugality.

I am very sorry to observe, that the appointment of general officers, in the provinces of Massachusetts and Connecticut, has not corresponded with the wishes and judgment of either the civil or military. The great dissatisfaction expressed on this subject, and the apparent danger of throwing the whole army into the utmost disorder, together with the strong representations made by the Provincial Congress, have induced me to retain the commissions in my hands until the pleasure of the Continental Congress should be further known, except General Putnam's, which was given the day I came to the camp, and before I was apprized of these disgusts. In such a step, I must beg the Congress will do me the justice to believe, that I have been actuated solely by a regard to the public good.

I have not, nor could I have, any private attachments;

every gentleman in appointment was a stranger to me, but from character; I must, therefore, rely upon the candor and indulgence of Congress, for their most favorable construction of my conduct in this particular. General Spencer's disgust was so great at General Putnam's promotion, that he left the army without visiting me, or making known his intention in any respect.

General Pomroy had also retired before my arrival, occasioned, as it is said, by some disappointment from the Provincial Congress. General Thomas is much esteemed, and most earnestly desired to continue in the service; and, as far as my opportunities have enabled me to judge, I must join in the general opinion, that he is an able, good officer; and his resignation would be a public loss. The postponing of him to Pomroy and Heath, whom he has commanded, would make his continuance very difficult, and probably operate on his mind, as the like circumstance did on that of Spencer.*

The state of the army you will find ascertained with tolerable precision in the returns, which accompany this letter. Upon finding the number of men to fall so far

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* Eight brigadier-generals for the Continental army were chosen by Congress on the 22d of June, in the following order. Seth Pomroy, of Massachusetts; Richard Montgomery, of New York; David Wooster, of Connecticut; William Heath, of Massachusetts; Joseph Spencer, of Connecticut; John Thomas, of Massachusetts; John Sullivan, of New Hampshire; Nathanael Greene, of Rhode Island. The commissions for these officers had been brought to camp by General Washington. He found great uneasiness prevailing, as to the comparative rank conferred by these appointments. The difficulties were in some degree removed by Pomroy's declining to serve, and by Spencer's consenting to take rank after Putnam. By this arrangement Thomas was made the first brigadier-general. — *Journal of Congress, July 19th.* — Pomroy behaved with great courage at the battle of Bunker's Hill, and although he declined joining the Continental army, yet he headed the militia of his neighbourhood, who marched to the Hudson River, when New Jersey was overrun by the enemy. He never returned from that expedition. He died at Peekskill in New York. — Swett's *History of Bunker-Hill Battle*, 2d ed. pp. 8, 53.

short of the establishment, and below all expectation, I immediately called a council of the general officers, whose opinion, as to the mode of filling up the regiments, and providing for the present exigency, I have the honor of enclosing, together with the best judgment we are able to form of the ministerial troops. From the number of boys, deserters, and negroes, that have been enlisted in the troops of this province, I entertain some doubts whether the number required can be raised here; and all the general officers agree, that no dependence can be put on the militia, for a continuance in camp, or regularity and discipline during the short time they may stay. This unhappy and devoted province has been so long in a state of anarchy, and the yoke of ministerial oppression has been laid so heavily on it, that great allowances are to be made for troops raised under such circumstances. The deficiency of numbers, discipline, and stores, can only lead to this conclusion, that their spirit has exceeded their strength. But, at the same time, I would humbly submit to the consideration of Congress the propriety of making some further provision of men from the other colonies. If these regiments should be completed to their establishment, the dismission of those unfit for duty, on account of their age and character, would occasion a considerable reduction; and, at all events, they have been enlisted upon such terms, that they may be disbanded when other troops arrive. But should my apprehensions be realized, and the regiments here not be filled up, the public cause would suffer by an absolute dependence upon so doubtful an event, unless some provision is made against such a disappointment.

It requires no military skill to judge of the difficulty of introducing proper discipline and subordination into an army, while we have the enemy in view, and are in

daily expectation of an attack; but it is of so much importance, that every effort will be made to this end, which time and circumstances will admit. In the mean time, I have a sincere pleasure in observing, that there are materials for a good army, a great number of able-bodied men, active, zealous in the cause, and of unquestionable courage.

I am now, Sir, to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 28th of June, enclosing the resolutions of Congress of the 27th, and a copy of a letter from the Committee of Albany; to all which I shall pay due attention.

Generals Gates and Sullivan have both arrived in good health.

My best abilities are at all times devoted to the service of my country; but I feel the weight, importance, and variety of my present duties too sensibly, not to wish a more immediate and frequent communication with the Congress. I fear it may often happen, in the course of our present operations, that I shall need that assistance and direction from them, which time and distance will not allow me to receive.

Since writing the above, I have also to acknowledge your favor of the 4th instant by Fessenden,[1] and the receipt of the commissions and articles of war. Among the other returns, I have also sent one of our killed, wounded, and missing, in the late action;* but have been able to procure no certain account of the loss of the

* At Bunker's Hill, on the 17th of June. According to a return published by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, the loss was one hundred and forty-five killed and missing, and three hundred and four wounded. About thirty of the first number were wounded and taken prisoners. By General Gage's official return, the killed and missing of the British were two hundred and twenty-six, and the wounded eight hundred and twenty-eight, in all one thousand and fifty four. — *Almon's Remembrancer*, Vol. I. pp. 99, 179.

ministerial troops. My best intelligence fixes it at about five hundred killed and six or seven hundred wounded; but it is no more than conjecture, the utmost pains being taken on their side to conceal their loss.

Having ordered the commanding officer to give me the earliest intelligence of every motion of the enemy by land or water, discernible from the heights of his camp, I this instant, as I was closing my letter, received the enclosed from the brigade-major. The design of this manœuvre I know not; perhaps it may be to make a descent somewhere along the coast; it may be for New York; or it may be practised as a deception on us. I thought it not improper however to mention the matter to you; I have done the same to the commanding officer at New-York; and I shall let it be known to the Committee of Safety here, so that intelligence may be communicated, as they shall think best, along the sea-coast of this government.

I have the honor to be, &c.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE, IN CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 10 July, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I was exceeding glad to receive a letter from you, as I always shall be whenever it is convenient; though perhaps my hurry, till such time as matters are drawn a little out of the chaos they appear in at present, will not suffer me to write you such full and satisfactory answers, or give such clear and precise accounts of our situation and views, as I could wish, or you might expect. After a journey, a good deal retarded, principally by the desire of the different townships through which I travelled of showing respect to the general of

your armies, I arrived here on this day week; since which I have been laboring with as much assiduity by fair and threatening means, to obtain returns of our strength in this camp and Roxbury and their dependencies, as a man could do, and never have been able to accomplish the matter till this day; and now, I will not answer for the correctness of them, although I have sent several of the regimental returns back more than once to have mistakes rectified.

I do not doubt but the Congress will think me very remiss in not writing to them sooner; but you may rely on it yourself, and I beg you to assure them, that it has never been in my power till this day to comply with their orders. Could I have conceived, that what ought, and, in a regular army, would have been done in an hour, would employ eight days, I should have sent an express on the second morning after I arrived, with a general account of things; but expecting in the morning to receive the returns in the evening, and in the evening surely to find them in the morning, and at last getting them full of imperfections, I have been drilled on from day to day, till I am ashamed to look back at the time, which has elapsed since my arrival here. You will perceive by the returns, that we have but about sixteen thousand effective men in all this department, whereas, by the accounts which I received from even the first officers in command, I had no doubt of finding between eighteen and twenty thousand; out of these there are only fourteen thousand fit for duty. So soon as I was able to get this state of the army, and came to the knowledge of our weakness, I immediately summoned a council of war, the result of which you will see, as it is enclosed to the Congress. Between you and me, I think we are in an exceedingly dangerous situation, as our numbers are not much larger than we suppose those

of the enemy to be, from the best accounts we are able to get. They are situated in such a manner, as to be drawn to any point of attack, without our having an hour's previous notice of it, if the General will keep his own counsel; whereas we are obliged to be guarded at all points, and know not where, with precision, to look for them.

I should not, I think, have made choice of the present posts, in the first instance, although I believe the communication between the town and country could not have been so well cut off without them; and, as much labor has been bestowed in throwing up lines, and making redoubts; as Cambridge, Roxbury, and Watertown must be immediately exposed to the mercy of the enemy, were we to retreat a little further into the country; as it would give a general dissatisfaction to this colony, dispirit our own people, and encourage the enemy, to remove at this time to another place; we have for these reasons resolved in council to maintain our ground if we can. Our lines on Winter and Prospect Hills, and those of the enemy on Bunker's Hill, are in full view of each other, a mile distant, our advance guards much nearer, and the sentries almost near enough to converse; at Roxbury and Boston Neck it is the same. Between these, we are obliged to guard several of the places at which the enemy may land. They have strongly fortified, or will fortify in a few days, their camps and Bunker's Hill; after which, and when their newly landed troops have got a little refreshed, we shall look for a visit, if they mean, as we are told they do, to come out of their lines. Their great command of artillery, and adequate stores of powder, give them advantages, which we have only to lament the want of.

The abuses in this army, I fear, are considerable, and

the new modelling of it, in the face of an enemy, from whom we every hour expect an attack, is exceedingly difficult and dangerous. If things therefore should not turn out as the Congress would wish, I hope they will make proper allowances. I can only promise and assure them, that my whole time is devoted to their service, and that as far as my judgment goes, they shall have no cause to complain. I need not tell you, that this letter is written in much haste; the fact will sufficiently appear from the face of it. I thought a hasty letter would please you better than no letter, and, therefore, I shall offer no further apology, but assure you, that, with sincere regard for my fellow laborers with you, and Dr. Shippen's family, I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate servant.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Cambridge, 10 July, 1775.

SIR,

I received your favor of the 1st instant by express from New York; but as I am exceedingly hurried in making out my despatches for the Congress at Philadelphia, it is not in my power to answer it in so full a manner as I wish.

Notwithstanding Governor Tryon's plausible behaviour, I recommend it to you to watch him narrowly; and as any unlucky change of affairs on our part may produce a change in him, of his present unexceptionable conduct, I expect you will, on the first appearance of such a change, pursue the advice given in my last letter. The like advice I give you respecting General Haldiman, who is supposed by some to have gone to New York, with a design to counteract us in that prov-

ince. The commissions, which have been forwarded to me, are not sufficient to answer the demand I have for them, there being at least one thousand officers in this department, and not more than five hundred commissions in my possession. As you are so much nearer to Philadelphia than I am, I request you to apply to Congress for as many as you may want.

The dispersing of hand-bills amongst the troops in New York has my most hearty approbation, and may have a good effect here. Our enemies have attempted nothing against us since my arrival here. They are strongly posted on Bunker's Hill, and are still busy in throwing up additional works. We have thrown up several lines and redoubts between Mystic River and Dorchester Point, to prevent their making way into the country, and in a few days we shall be well prepared to receive them, in case a sortie is attempted.

I sincerely thank you for your attention to the directions of the Congress, and for your kind wishes; and am, with much regard, Sir, your obedient friend and very humble servant.

P. S. I herewith enclose a report this minute received from the camp at Dorchester. The design of this manœuvre I am at a loss to know, but suppose it may be intended as a diversion to our forces here. It however behooves you to keep a good look-out, to prevent any surprise your way.

TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL, GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

Cambridge, 18 July, 1775.

SIR,

Allow me to return you my sincere thanks, for the kind wishes and favorable sentiments expressed in yours of the 13th instant. As the cause of our common country calls us both to an active and dangerous duty, I trust that Divine Providence, which wisely orders the affairs of men, will enable us to discharge it with fidelity and success. The uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people has raised you to deserved eminence. That the blessings of health, and the still greater blessing of long continuing to govern such a people, may be yours, is the sincere wish of, Sir, your, &c.*

* Governor Trumbull was one of the firmest patriots and best men, that his country has produced. He was at this time sixty-five years old, having been born in the year 1710, yet no man engaged with more zeal and activity in the common cause. So true was he to the principles of liberty, and such was the confidence of his fellow citizens in his talents and integrity, that, although first appointed Governor in 1769, several years before the breaking out of the war, he was constantly chosen with great unanimity to the same station till the end of the revolution, when, at the age of seventy-three, he declined a further election. His services were of very great importance throughout the whole war, not only in regulating the civil affairs of Connecticut, but in keeping alive a military ardor among the people, and thus promoting efficiency and promptness of action in the forces contributed from time to time by that state. General Washington relied on him as one of his main pillars of support. The following extracts from Governor Trumbull's letter, to which the above is an answer, will show something of the spirit prevailing at that day, as well as the religious cast of the writer's mind;

"Suffer me to join in congratulating you, on your appointment to be General and Commander-in-chief of the troops raised or to be raised for the defence of American liberty. Men, who have tasted of freedom, and who have felt their personal rights, are not easily taught to bear with encroachments on either, or brought to submit to oppression. Virtue ought

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Cambridge, 18 July, 1775.

SIR,

It is with no small concern, that I find the arrangement of general officers, made by the Continental Congress, has produced much dissatisfaction. As the army is upon a general establishment, their right, to supersede and control a Provincial one, must be unquestionable; and, in such a cause, I should hope every post would be deemed honorable, which gave a man an opportunity to serve his country.

A representation from the Congress of this province, with such remarks as occurred to me on this subject, is now before the Continental Congress. In the mean time, I beg leave to assure you, that, unbiassed by any private attachments, I shall studiously endeavour to reconcile their pretensions to their duty, and so dispose them, as to prevent, as far as possible, any inconveniences to the public service from this competition. I have the honor to be, &c.

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always to be made the object of government; justice is firm and permanent.

"His Majesty's ministers have artfully induced the Parliament to join in their measures, to prosecute the dangerous and increasing difference between Great Britain and these colonies with rigor and military force; whereby the latter are driven to an absolute necessity to defend their rights and properties, by raising forces for their security. The honorable Congress have, with one united voice, appointed you to the high station you possess. The Supreme Director of all events has caused a wonderful union of hearts and counsels to subsist amongst us. Now, therefore, be strong and very courageous. May the God of the armies of Israel shower down the blessings of his divine providence on you, give you wisdom and fortitude, cover your head in the day of battle and danger, add success, convince our enemies of their mistaken measures, and that all their attempts to deprive these colonies of their inestimable constitutional rights and liberties are injurious and vain."

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 20 July, 1775.

SIR,

Since I did myself the honor of addressing you the 14th instant, I have received advice from Governor Trumbull, that the Assembly of Connecticut had voted, and that they are now raising, two regiments of seven hundred men each, to join this army in consequence of an application from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay. The Rhode Island Assembly has also made an augmentation for this purpose. These reinforcements, with the riflemen who are daily expected, and such recruits as may come in to fill up the regiments here, will, I apprehend, compose an army sufficiently strong to oppose any force, which may be brought against us at present. I am very sensible, that the heavy expense, necessarily attendant upon this campaign, will call for the utmost frugality and care, and I would therefore, if possible, avoid enlisting one unnecessary man. As this is the first certain account of the destination of these new-raised troops, I thought proper to communicate my sentiments as early as possible, lest the Congress should act upon my letter of the 10th, and raise troops in the southern colonies, which, in my present judgment, may be dispensed with.

Next to the more immediate and pressing duties of putting our lines in as secure a state as possible, attending to the movements of the enemy, and gaining intelligence, my great concern is to establish order, regularity, and discipline, without which, our numbers would embarrass us, and, in case of action, general confusion must infallibly ensue. In order to this, I propose to divide the army into three divisions. At the head of each will be a general officer; these divisions to be again

subdivided into brigades, under their respective brigadiers. But the difficulty arising from the arrangement of the general officers, and waiting the farther proceedings of the Congress on this subject, have much retarded my progress in this most necessary work. I should be very happy to receive their final commands, as any determination would enable me to proceed in my plan.

General Spencer returned to the camp two days ago, and has agreed to serve under Putnam rather than leave the army entirely. I have heard nothing from General Pomroy; should he wholly retire, I apprehend it will be necessary to supply his place as soon as possible. General Folsom proposed also to retire.

My instructions from the honorable Congress direct, that no troops are to be disbanded without their express direction, nor to be recruited to more than double the number of the enemy. Upon this subject I beg leave to represent, that, unless the regiments in this province are more successful in recruiting than I have reason to expect, a reduction of some of them will be highly necessary, as the public is put to the whole expense of an establishment of officers, while the real strength of the regiment, which consists in the rank and file, is defective. In case of such a reduction, doubtless some of the privates and all the officers would return home; but many of the former would go into the remaining regiments, and, having had some experience of service, would fill them up with useful men. I so plainly perceive the expense of this campaign will exceed any calculation hitherto made, that I am particularly anxious to strike off every unnecessary charge. You will therefore, Sir, be pleased to favor me with explicit directions from the Congress, on the mode of this reduction, if it shall appear necessary, that no time may be lost when such necessity appears.

You will please to present me to the Congress, with the utmost duty and respect; and believe me to be, &c.

P. S. Captain Derby's stay in England was so short, that he brings no other information, than what the enclosed letter and the newspapers, which will accompany this, contain. General Gage's despatches had not arrived; and the ministry affected to disbelieve the whole account, treating it as a fiction, or, at most, an affair of little consequence. The fall of stocks was very inconsiderable.*

July 21st, 5 o'clock, P. M. Since closing the letters, which accompany this, I have received an account of

* By a vote of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress (April 26th), Mr. Richard Derby of Salem was empowered to fit out his vessel, as a packet, to carry intelligence of the Lexington battle to England, and all charges were to be paid by the colony. It was commanded by Captain John Derby, who arrived in London on the [29th] of May, having taken with him several copies of the *Essex Gazette*, in which was contained the first published account of the affair at Lexington and Concord. This was reprinted and circulated in London the day after his arrival, and gave the first notice of that event to the English public. Captain Derby was summoned before the Privy Council, and examined, the ministry having received no despatches from General Gage confirming such a report. Nor did his letters arrive, till eleven days afterwards, although the vessel conveying them sailed four days previous to the departure of Captain Derby. Great excitement was produced throughout England, and the clamor grew loud against the ministers, because it was presumed that they concealed the official accounts, and wished to keep the people in ignorance. On the 10th of June, however, as soon as General Gage's official report reached Whitehall, it was published. — *MS. Journal of Massachusetts Provincial Congress.* — *MS. Papers in the State Paper Office, London.*

Captain Derby took with him the original affidavits of the people in Lexington and Concord, respecting the battle, and a letter from the Provincial Congress to Dr. Franklin, agent in England for Massachusetts. These identical papers are now in the Library of Harvard College. When Captain Derby arrived in London, Dr. Franklin had sailed for America, and he was at sea when the affair at Lexington took place. The papers were, therefore, handed to Arthur Lee, who was Dr. Franklin's successor. He retained them, and recently they have been deposited in the Library of the College, with other manuscripts, by Mr. R. H. Lee, of Virginia.

the destruction of the light-house; a copy of which I have the honor to enclose.*

I have also received a more authentic account of the loss of the enemy in the late battle, than any yet received. Dr. Winthrop, who lodged in the same house with an officer of the marines, assures me they had exactly one thousand and forty-three killed and wounded, of whom three hundred fell on the field, or died within a few hours. Many of the wounded are since dead.

TO COLONEL JOHN HANCOCK.

Cambridge, 21 July, 1775.

Dear Sir,

I am particularly to acknowledge that part of your favor of the 10th instant, wherein you do me the honor of determining to join the army under my command. I need certainly make no professions of the pleasure I shall have in seeing you. At the same time I have to regret, that so little is in my power to offer equal to Colonel Hancock's merits, and worthy of his acceptance. I shall be happy in every opportunity to show the regard and esteem with which,

I am, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant.†

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* A party of the American troops set fire to the light-house, which stood on an island about nine miles from Boston. It was considered an enterprise of some merit, as a British man-of-war was stationed within a mile of the place.

† Mr. Hancock had written;—"I must beg the favor, that you will reserve some berth for me, in such department as you may judge most proper; for I am determined to act under you, if it be to take the firelock and join the ranks as a volunteer." The company of Cadets in Boston had been commanded by Mr. Hancock, with the rank of Colonel. He

TO GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX, ENGLAND.

Camp at Cambridge, 25 July, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

On the other side you will receive a copy of my last, dated at Philadelphia the 31st of May, and to which I refer.

I shall say very little in this letter, for two reasons; first, because I have received no letter from you since the one dated in June, 1774, and therefore, having written often, can have nothing to answer; but, principally, because I do not know whether it may ever get to your hands. If it should, the principal, indeed only design is to cover the seconds of those bills forwarded in my last.

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was dismissed from that command by General Gage. A curious correspondence on the subject is contained in the *Boston Gazette*, August 29th, 1774. It does not appear, that he joined the army under Washington in any military capacity, as above proposed.

[An error of some consequence has crept into history, respecting the proximate cause, which influenced the members of the Continental Congress in choosing Mr. Hancock to be president of that body. In Belsham's *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Third* (Vol. I. p. 318), it is intimated, that his proscription by General Gage procured him this honor. Mrs. Warren, in her *History of the Revolution* (Vol. I. p. 214), speaks with still more confidence, and says, "He was chosen to preside in the respectable assembly of delegates, avowedly on the sole principle of his having been proscribed by General Gage." But Hancock was chosen president of the Continental Congress on the 24th of May, two weeks before Gage's proclamation, proscribing him and Samuel Adams, was issued, that instrument having first appeared on the 12th of June following. It is probable, that a main reason of his being chosen, in addition to the notoriety acquired by the zealous part he had acted, was the circumstance of his winning personal address, and his having been for some time president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, by which he had become familiar with the forms of business in a public body. This latter office he continued to hold, after joining the Continental Congress. Dr. Joseph Warren was elected president *pro tempore*, and discharged the duties of the station, till the day on which he was slain at Bunker's Hill. — *MS. Journal of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, for May and June*, 1775.]

You will, I presume, before this letter gets to hand, hear of my appointment to the command of the Continental army. I arrived at this camp the 2d instant.

You must, no doubt, also have heard of the engagement on Bunker's Hill the 17th ultimo; but as I am persuaded you will have a very erroneous account transmitted of the loss sustained on the side of the Provincials, I do assure you, upon my word, that our loss, as appears by the returns made to me since I came here, amounts to no more than one hundred and thirty-nine killed, thirty-six missing, and two hundred and seventy-eight wounded; nor had we, if I can credit the most solemn assurances of the officers, who were in the action, above one thousand five hundred men engaged on that day. The loss on the side of the ministerial troops, as I am informed from good authority, consisted of one thousand and forty-three killed and wounded, whereof ninety-two were officers.*

Enclosed I send you a second address from the Congress to the inhabitants of Great Britain; as also a declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms.

With my affectionate and respectful compliments to Mrs. Fairfax, I am, &c.

TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

Camp at Cambridge, 27 July, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,

On the 2nd instant I arrived at this place, after passing through a great deal of delightful country, covered

* This result varies a little from the official returns afterwards made out.

with grass, (although the season has been dry) in a manner very different from our lands in Virginia.

I found a mixed multitude of people here, under very little discipline, order, or government; the enemy in possession of a place called Bunker's Hill, on Charlestown Neck, strongly intrenched, and fortifying themselves; part of our own army on two hills, called Winter and Prospect Hills, about a mile and a quarter from the enemy on Bunker's Hill, in a very insecure state; another part at this village; and a third part at Roxbury, guarding the entrance in and out of Boston. My whole time, since I came here, has been employed in throwing up lines of defence at these three several places, to secure, in the first instance, our own troops from any attempts of the enemy; and, in the next place, to cut off all communication between their troops and the country. To do this, and to prevent them from penetrating into the country with fire and sword, and to harass them if they do, is all that is expected of me. If effected, it must totally overthrow the designs of administration, as the whole force of Great Britain in the town and harbour of Boston can answer no other end, than to sink her under the disgrace and weight of the expense. The enemy's strength, including marine forces, is computed, from the best accounts I can get, at about twelve thousand men; ours, including sick and absent, at about sixteen thousand; but then we have to guard a semicircle of eight or nine miles, to every part of which we are obliged to be equally attentive; whilst they, situated as it were in the centre of the semicircle, and having the entire command of the water, can bend their whole force against any one part of it with equal facility. This renders our situation not very agreeable, though necessary. However, by incessant labor, Sundays not excepted, we are in a much

better posture of defence now, than when I first came. The enclosed, though rough, will give you some small idea of Boston and the Bay on this side, as also of the post they have taken on Charlestown Neck at Bunker's Hill, and of our posts.

The enemy are sickly, and in want of fresh provisions. Beef, which is chiefly got by slaughtering their milch cows in Boston, sells from one shilling to eighteen pence sterling per pound; and that it may not become cheaper, or more plenty, I have driven all the stock, within a considerable distance of this place, back into the country, out of the way of the men-of-war's boats. In short, I have done, and shall continue to do, every thing in my power to distress them. The transports have all arrived, and their whole reinforcement is landed, so that I can see no reason why they should not, if they ever attempt it, come boldly out, and put the matter to issue at once. If they think themselves not strong enough to do this, they surely will carry their arms (having ships of war and transports ready) to some other part of the continent, or relinquish the dispute; the last of which the ministry, unless compelled, will never agree to do. Our works, and those of the enemy are so near and the space between is so open, that each sees every thing the other is doing.

I recollect nothing more worth mentioning. I shall therefore conclude, with my best wishes and love to my sister and the family, and compliments to any inquiring friends, your most affectionate brother.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Camp at Cambridge, 28 July, 1775.

SIR,

I wrote you yesterday by way of New York, and in two hours afterwards was favored with yours of the 15th and 18th instant, with their respective enclosures. I was extremely glad to find, that your first apprehensions of an incursion by the Indians were in some degree removed by the late advices. At the same time, I think it is evident from the spirit and tenor of Colonel Johnson's letter, that no art or influence will be left untried by him to engage them in such an enterprise. Should he once prevail upon them to dip their hands in blood, mutual hostilities will most probably ensue, and they may be led to take a more decisive part. All accounts I think agree, that the Canadians are very averse to engaging in this unnatural contest; but I am persuaded you will not abate in the least your vigilance to expedite every movement in that quarter, notwithstanding their present pacific appearances.*

* The Indians began to be restless in the western parts of New York, and there were strong indications that Guy Johnson, the Indian agent, was stirring them up against the colonies. Reports came, also, that General Carleton was fortifying St. John's, building boats, and preparing to make a descent on Lake Champlain, and attack Crown Point and Ticonderoga. This intelligence reached Congress after Washington's departure for the camp, and produced a change in the public counsels. It had previously been the determination not to make any hostile attempts upon Canada, and a resolve of Congress to that effect was passed on the 1st of June. But after the above intelligence reached Congress from a committee in Albany, a set of resolutions was immediately adopted, June 27th, bearing a very different complexion, and instructing General Schuyler to repair without delay to Ticonderoga, and "if he found it practicable, and it would not be disagreeable to the Canadians, immediately to take possession of St. John's and Montreal, and pursue any other measures in Canada, which might have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these colonies." The resolutions from which this extract is taken were not printed in the Journals, but they afford a key to the subsequent operations on Lake Champlain. — See APPENDIX, No. V.

I am much easier with respect to the public interest since your arrival at Ticonderoga, as I am persuaded those abilities and that zeal for the common welfare, which have led your country to repose such confidence in you, will be fully exerted. From my own experience I can easily judge of your difficulties in introducing order and discipline into troops, who have from their infancy imbibed ideas of the most contrary kind. It would be far beyond the compass of a letter, for me to describe the situation of things here on my arrival. Perhaps you will only be able to judge of it from my assuring you, that mine must be a portrait at full length of what you have had in miniature. Confusion and discord reigned in every department, which, in a little time, must have ended either in the separation of the army, or fatal contests with one another. The better genius of America has prevailed, and most happily the ministerial troops have not availed themselves of their advantages, till I trust the opportunity is in a great measure past over. The arrangement of the general officers in Massachusetts and Connecticut has been very unpopular, indeed I may say injudicious. It is returned to the Congress for further consideration, and has much retarded my plan of discipline. However, we mend every day, and I flatter myself that in a little time we shall work up these raw materials into a good manufacture. I must recommend to you, what I endeavour to practise myself, patience and perseverance. As to your operations, my dear Sir, I can suggest nothing, which your own good judgment will not either anticipate, or control, from your immediate view of things, and the instructions of the Continental Congress.

The express from hence to England, with the account of the commencement of hostilities at Lexington, has returned. It was far from making the impression

generally expected here. Stocks fell but one and a half per cent. General Gage's account had not arrived, and the enemy affected to treat it as a fiction. Parliament had been prorogued two days, but it was reported that it would be immediately recalled. Our enemy continues strongly posted about a mile from us, both at Bunker's Hill and Roxbury, but we are not able to get any information of their future intentions. Part of the riflemen are come in, and the rest daily expected.

I did not suppose your returns would be very complete at first; but I must ask your attention to reforming them as soon as possible; and I beg leave to add, that I would have you scrutinize with exactness into the application of provisions and stores.* I have the utmost reason to suspect irregularities and impositions here. You will be fortunate if the contagion does not reach you. General Lee has removed about four miles from me, but I will take the first opportunity to make your kind wishes known to him.† I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.

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* By a return sent in the letter of the 15th, the forces under General Schuyler in the Northern Department were represented as follows;

1. Connecticut troops under General Wooster	1505
2. " " under Colonel Hinman, at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort George	973
3. New York troops at Fort George	205
4. Massachusetts troops at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort George	174
Total	2857
Sick and absent	73
Present fit for duty	2784

† General Lee was now stationed at Winter Hill, near Medford, in command of the left wing of the army.—See APPENDIX, No. VI.

TO THE SPEAKER OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.*

Camp at Cambridge, 31 July, 1775.

SIR,

I have considered the application made to me yesterday from the General Court, with all the attention due to the situation of the people, in whose behalf it is made, and the respect due to such a recommendation.

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* General Gage, as governor of the colony, summoned in the usual way a meeting of the General Assembly to be held at Salem, on the 5th of October, 1774. After issuing precepts for the election, he was induced by the current of events to suspend the meeting of the members chosen. They met, however, to the number of ninety, at the time and place appointed; and receiving no message from the governor, and questioning the legality of his proclamation, they formed themselves into a *Provincial Congress*, and proceeded to take into consideration the affairs of the colony. They adjourned to Cambridge, where, except an intermission of three or four weeks, by adjournment, they continued in session till the 10th of December, when the Congress was dissolved, having previously recommended a new election to the people, and appointed a *Committee of Safety* from their own members to manage the public concerns, till a new Congress should be assembled. The second Congress met on the 1st of February, 1775, at Cambridge, but adjourned to Concord, and afterwards to Watertown; it was dissolved on the 23d of May. A third Congress met at Watertown, May 31st, and continued till July 19th, when the government by Provincial Congresses ceased, and the *General Assembly*, or, as it was otherwise called, *General Court*, convened at Watertown. This was the body, which Washington now addressed. It differed from the old mode, by having a Council, and thus acting in two separate branches.

The Provincial Congress, had, on the 16th of May, written to the Continental Congress requesting their advice on the expediency of establishing a more efficient system, or, as it was termed, *taking up civil government*. In their letter it was stated, — "As the sword should, in all free states, be subservient to the civil powers, and as it is the duty of the magistrate to support it for the people's necessary defence, we tremble at having an army, although consisting of our own countrymen, established here, without a civil power to provide for and control them." In consequence of this representation, the Continental Congress, on the 9th of June, passed a resolve, recommending the adoption of the old form of an Assembly, according to the spirit and substance of the charter, as far as it could be effected without the agency of a governor. A new election was immediately ordered, and the Assembly convened as above stated. — *MS. Journal of the Massachusetts Congress, for May and June.*

Upon referring to my instructions, and consulting with those members of Congress, who are present, as well as the general officers, they all agree, that it would not be consistent with my duty to detach any part of the army now here on any particular provincial service. It has been debated in Congress and settled, that the militia, or other internal strength of each province, is to be applied for defence against those small and particular depredations, which were to be expected, and to which they were supposed to be competent. This will appear the more proper, when it is considered, that every town and indeed every part of our sea-coast, which is exposed to these depredations, would have an equal claim upon this army.

It is the misfortune of our situation, which exposes us to these ravages, and against which, in my judgment, no such temporary relief could possibly secure us. The great advantage the enemy have of transporting troops, by being masters of the sea, will enable them to harass us by diversions of this kind; and should we be tempted to pursue them upon every alarm, the army must either be so weakened as to expose it to destruction, or a great part of the coast be still left unprotected. Nor, indeed, does it appear to me, that such a pursuit would be attended with the least effect. The first notice of such an excursion would be its actual execution; and long before any troops could reach the scene of action, the enemy would have an opportunity to accomplish their purpose and retire. It would give me great pleasure to have it in my power to extend protection and safety to every individual; but the wisdom of the General Court will anticipate me in the necessity of conducting our operations on a general and impartial scale, so as to exclude any just cause of complaint and jealousy.

I beg, Sir, you will do me the honor to communicate these sentiments to the General Court, and to apologize for my involuntary delay, as we were alarmed this morning by the enemy, and my time was taken up in giving the necessary directions.

I shall be happy in every opportunity of showing my very great respect and regard for the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, and am, Sir, &c.

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Cambridge, 4 August, 1775.

Sir,

I am favored with yours of the 31st of July, informing me, that the new levies are coming forward with all expedition.* As the enemy has lain much longer inactive than I expected, I hope they will arrive in time to give us their assistance.

My last letter from the honorable Continental Congress recommends my procuring, from the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, a quantity of tow cloth, for the purpose of making Indian or hunting-shirts for the men, many of whom are destitute of clothing. A pattern is herewith sent you; and I must request you to give the necessary directions throughout your government, that all the cloth of this kind may be bought up for this use, and suitable persons set to work to make it up. As soon as any number is made, worth the conveyance, you will please to direct them to be forwarded. It is designed as a species of uniform, both cheap and convenient.

The express, having left his horse at Hartford, is under the necessity of going that way. I am, Sir, &c.

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* Connecticut had recently determined to send fourteen hundred additional men to the camp. These were called *new levies*.

TO GOVERNOR COOKE, OF RHODE ISLAND.

Camp at Cambridge, 4 August, 1775.

SIR,

I was yesterday favored with yours of the 31st of July. We have yet no certain accounts of the fleet, which sailed out of Boston on the 25th; but if our conjectures and information are just, we may expect to hear of it every hour.

I am now, Sir, in strict confidence, to acquaint you, that our necessities in the articles of powder and lead are so great, as to require an immediate supply. I must earnestly entreat, that you will fall upon some measure to forward every pound of each in your colony, that can possibly be spared. It is not within the propriety or safety of such a correspondence to say what I might on this subject. It is sufficient, that the case calls loudly for the most strenuous exertions of every friend of his country, and does not admit of the least delay. No quantity, however small, is beneath notice, and, should any arrive, I beg it may be forwarded as soon as possible.

But a supply of this kind is so precarious, not only from the danger of the enemy, but the opportunity of purchasing, that I have revolved in my mind every other possible chance, and listened to every proposition on the subject, which could give the smallest hope. Among others, I have had one mentioned, which has some weight with me, as well as the general officers to whom I have proposed it. A Mr. Harris has lately come from Bermuda, where there is a very considerable magazine of powder in a remote part of the island; and the inhabitants are well disposed not only to our cause in general, but to assist in this enterprise in particular. We understand there are two armed vessels in your province, commanded by men of known activity and

spirit; one of which, it is proposed to despatch on this errand with such assistance as may be requisite. Harris is to go along, as the conductor of the enterprise, that we may avail ourselves of his knowledge of the island; but without any command. I am very sensible, that at first view the project may appear hazardous; and its success must depend on the concurrence of many circumstances; but we are in a situation, which requires us to run all risks. No danger is to be considered, when put in competition with the magnitude of the cause, and the absolute necessity we are under of increasing our stock. Enterprises, which appear chimerical, often prove successful from that very circumstance. Common sense and prudence will suggest vigilance and care, where the danger is plain and obvious; but, where little danger is apprehended, the more the enemy will be unprepared, and consequently there is the fairest prospect of success.

Mr. Brown has been mentioned to me as a very proper person to be consulted upon this occasion. You will judge of the propriety of communicating it to him in part or the whole, and as soon as possible favor me with your sentiments, and the steps you may have taken to forward it. If no immediate and safe opportunity offers, you will please to do it by express. Should it be inconvenient to part with one of the armed vessels, perhaps some other might be fitted out, or you could devise some other mode of executing this plan; so that, in case of a disappointment, the vessel might proceed to some other island to purchase.

We have had no transactions in either camp since my last, but what are in the public papers, and related with tolerable accuracy. The enemy still continue to strengthen their lines, and, we have reason to believe, intend to bombard ours, with the hope of forcing us out

of them. Our poverty in ammunition prevents our making a suitable return.

Since writing the above, Colonel Porter has undertaken to assist in the matter, or to provide some suitable person to accompany Harris to you, who will communicate all the circumstances. I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 4 August, 1775.

SIR,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 24th of July, accompanied by two hundred and eighty-four commissions, which are yet much short of the necessary number. I am much honored by the confidence reposed in me, of appointing the several officers recommended in mine of the 10th ultimo; and shall endeavour to select such persons as are best qualified to fill these important posts.

General Thomas has accepted his commission, and I have heard nothing of his retirement since, so that I hope that he is satisfied.

In the renewal of these commissions some difficulties occur, in which I should be glad to know the pleasure of the honorable Congress. The general officers of the Massachusetts have regiments; those of Connecticut have both regiments and companies; and the other field-officers have companies each. In New Hampshire, the general officers have no regiments; nor the field-officers companies. In Rhode Island, the general officers have no regiments, but the field-officers have companies; though I do not find that they have or expect pay under more than one commission. Should the commissions, now to be delivered, pursue these different establish-

ments, there will be a distinction between the general and field officers of the same rank. In order to put New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island upon a line with Connecticut, it would be necessary to dismiss a number of officers in possession of commissions, without any fault of theirs. On the other hand, to bring the Connecticut general and field officers to the same scale with the others, will add to the number of officers, and may be deemed inconsistent with the terms on which they entered into the service, although you add nothing to the expense, except in the article of provisions. Upon the whole, it is a case which I would wish the honorable Congress to consider and determine. Colonel Gridley of this province, who is at the head of the artillery, has the rank of major-general from the Provincial Congress. Will it be proper to renew his commission here in the same manner? It is proper here to remark, that, in this case, he will take rank of all the brigadier-generals, and even the major-generals whose commissions are subsequent in date; and this can answer no good purpose, but may be productive of many bad consequences.

These are matters of some importance; but I am embarrassed with a difficulty of a superior nature. The estimate, made in Congress, supposed all the regiments to be formed upon one establishment; but they are different in different provinces, and even vary in the same province, in some particulars. In Massachusetts, some regiments have ten companies, others eleven; the establishment of the former is five hundred and ninety men, officers included; of the latter, six hundred and forty-nine. The establishment of Rhode Island and New Hampshire is five hundred and ninety to a regiment, officers included; Connecticut has a thousand men to a regiment. Should these regiments

be completed, with the new levies from Rhode Island and Connecticut, and the riflemen, the number will exceed twenty-two thousand. If they should not be completed, as each regiment is fully officered, there will be a heavy expense to the public without any adequate service. The reduction of some of them seems to be necessary, and yet is a matter of much delicacy, as we are situated. I most earnestly request it may be taken into immediate consideration, and the time and mode of doing it pointed out by the honorable Congress. By an estimate I have made from the general return, when the new levies arrive, and the regiments are completed, there will be twenty-four thousand five hundred and fifty men on the pay and provision of the United Colonies. Some of the recruiting-officers, who have been out on that service, have returned with very little success; so that we may safely conclude, the number of two thousand and sixty-four, now wanting to complete them, will rather increase than diminish. There are the regiment of artillery, consisting of four hundred and ninety-three men, and one under Colonel Sergeant (who has not received any commission, although he had orders to raise a regiment, from the Provincial Congress here), which are not included in the above estimate. This last regiment consists of two hundred and thirty-four men by the last return; but a company has since joined.*

* Symptoms of fear, concerning the influence of a military power, began to appear in Congress very soon after the appointment of the Commander-in-chief. It was resolved, on the 21st of July, "That such a body of troops be kept up in the Massachusetts Bay, as General Washington shall think necessary, *provided they do not exceed twenty-two thousand men.*" There was a slender probability, perhaps, that the forces would soon go beyond this number, and indeed it had been decided by a council of war, that in the present state of things no more were necessary; but it was an excess of caution, and very dubious policy, to say the least, thus to limit

In adverting to the general return, which I have the honor of enclosing, it will be seen, what regiments are most deficient.

If the Congress does not choose to point out the particular regiments, but the provinces in which the reduction is to be made, the several Congresses and Assemblies may be the proper channel to conduct this business, which I should also conceive the most advisable, from their better acquaintance with the merits, terms, and time of service, of the respective officers. Reducing some regiments, and with the privates thereof filling up others, would certainly be the best method of accomplishing this work if it were practicable; but the experiment is dangerous, as the Massachusetts men, under the privilege of choosing their own officers, do not conceive themselves bound, if those officers are disbanded.

As General Gage is making preparations for winter by contracting for quantities of coal, it will suggest to us the propriety of extending our views to that season. I have directed, that such huts as have been lately made of boards should be done in such a manner, that, if necessary, they may serve for covering during the win-

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the number of forces for defence, when no foresight could determine the strength of the enemy at any future moment. This resolve was the beginning of a series of acts in Congress bearing a similar complexion, which ultimately caused much anxiety to the Commander-in-chief, fomented party dissensions within the walls of Congress, encouraged intrigue in the army, and retarded the successful progress of the war. It is remarkable, that the president of Congress, in communicating the above resolve to General Washington, should say it was passed in consequence of the "confidence reposed in his prudence." From the tenor of the resolve itself, a contrary reason would seem rather to have been the true one. It is probable, however, that it had its origin in the timid apprehensions of some of the members, whose historical recollections inspired them with no favorable hopes from an overgrown military establisment, even under the watchful control of the representatives of the people.

ter. But I need not enlarge upon the variety of necessities, such as clothing and fuel (both exceedingly scarce, and difficult to be procured), which that season must bring with it, if the army or any considerable part of it is to remain embodied.

From the inactivity of the enemy, since the arrival of their whole reinforcement, their continual addition to their lines, and many other circumstances, I am inclined to think, that, finding us so well prepared to receive them, the plan of operations is varied, and they mean, by regular approaches, to bombard us out of our present line of defence, or are waiting in expectation, that the colonies must sink under the weight of the expense, or the prospect of a winter campaign so discourage our troops, as to break up our army. If they have not some such expectations, the issue of which they are determined to wait, I cannot account for the delay, when their strength is lessened every day by sickness, desertions, and little skirmishes.

Since I had the honor of addressing you last, I have been applied to by a committee of the General Court, for a detachment of the army, to protect the inhabitants of the eastern parts of this province from some apprehended depredations on their coasts. I could have wished to comply with their request; but after due consideration, and consulting the general officers, together with those members of Congress who are here, I thought it my duty to excuse myself. The application and my answer are enclosed, which I hope will be approved by the honorable Congress.

Since I began this letter, the original, of which the enclosed is a copy, fell into my hands. As the writer is a person of some note in Boston, and it contains some advices of importance not mentioned by others, I thought proper to forward it as I received it. By com-

paring it with the handwriting of another letter, it appears the writer is one Belcher Noyes, a person probably known to some of the gentlemen, delegates from this province, who can determine from his principles and character what credit is due to him.

The army is now formed into three grand divisions, under the command of the Generals Ward, Lee, and Putnam; each division into two brigades, consisting of about six regiments each, commanded by Generals Thomas and Spencer at Roxbury; Heath at Cambridge; Sullivan and Greene at Winter Hill. By this, you will please to observe, there is a deficiency of one brigadier-general, occasioned by Mr. Pomroy's refusal to accept his commission, which I beg may be filled up as soon as possible. I observe the honorable Congress have also favored me with the appointment of three brigade-majors. I presume they have appointed, or intend to appoint, the rest soon, as they cannot be unacquainted that one is necessary to each brigade; and, in a new-raised army, it will be an office of great duty and service.

General Gage has at length liberated the people of Boston, who land in numbers at Chelsea every day. The terms on which the passes are granted, as to money, effects, and provisions, correspond with Mr. Noyes's letter.

We have several reports that General Gage is dismantling Castle William, and bringing all the cannon up to town; but, upon a very particular inquiry, accounts are so various, that I cannot ascertain the truth of it.

On the first instant, a chief of the Caghnawaga tribe, who lives about six miles from Montreal, came in here, accompanied by a Colonel Bayley of Coos. His accounts of the temper and disposition of the Indians are very favorable. He says they have been strongly solicited by Governor Carleton to engage against us, but

his nation is totally averse; that threats, as well as entreaties, have been used without effect; that the Canadians are well-disposed to the English colonies; and, if any expedition is meditated against Canada, the Indians in that quarter will give all their assistance. I have endeavoured to cherish these favorable dispositions, and have recommended to him to cultivate them on his return. What I have said, I enforced with a present, which I understood would be agreeable to him; and as he is represented to be a man of weight and consequence in his own tribe, I flatter myself his visit will have a good effect. His accounts of General Carleton's force and situation at St. John's correspond with what we have already had from that quarter.

The accession of Georgia to the measures of the Congress is a happy event, and must give sincere pleasure to every friend of America. I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Head-Quarters, 7 August, 1775.

SIR,

By the general return made to me for last week, I find there are great numbers of soldiers and non-commissioned officers, who absent themselves from duty, the greater part of whom, I have reason to believe, are at their respective homes in different parts of the country; some employed by their officers on their farms, and others drawing pay from the public, while they are working on their own plantations or for hire. My utmost exertions have not been able to prevent this base and pernicious conduct. I must, therefore, beg the assistance of the General Court to coöperate with me in

such measures, as may remedy this mischief. I am of opinion it might be done, either wholly or in part, by the committees in your several towns making strict and impartial inquiry of such as are found absent from the army, upon whose account they have left it, by whose leave, and for what time; requiring such, as have no impediment of sickness or other good reason, to return to their duty immediately, or, in case of failure sending an account of their names, and the company and regiment to which they belong, that I may be able to make examples of such delinquents.

I need not enlarge upon the ruinous consequences of suffering such infamous deserters and defrauders of the public to go unnoticed or unpunished, nor use any arguments to induce the General Court to give it immediate attention. The necessity of the case does not permit me to doubt the continued exertions of that zeal, which has distinguished the General Court upon less important occasions. I have the honor to be, &c.

TO THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF NEW YORK.

Camp at Cambridge, 8 August, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

It must give great concern to any considerate mind, that, when this whole continent, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, is endeavouring to establish its liberties on the most secure and solid foundations, not only by a laudable opposition of force to force, but denying itself the usual advantages of trade, there are men among us so basely sordid, as to counteract all our exertions, for the sake of a little gain. You cannot but have heard, that the distresses of the ministerial troops

for fresh provisions and many other necessaries at Boston were very great. It is a policy, justifiable by all the laws of war, to endeavour to increase them. Desertions, discouragement, and a dissatisfaction with the service, besides weakening their strength, are some of the natural consequences of such a situation; and, if continued, might afford the fairest hope of success, without further effusion of human blood.

A vessel, cleared lately out of New York for St. Croix, with fresh provisions and other articles, has just gone into Boston, instead of pursuing her voyage to the West Indies. I have endeavoured to discover the name of the captain, or owner, but as yet without success. The owner it is said, went to St. Croix before the vessel; from which, and her late arrival, I make no doubt you will be able to discover and expose the villain. And, if you could fall upon some effectual measures, to prevent the like in future, it would be doing a signal service to our common country.

I have been endeavouring, by every means in my power, to discover the future intentions of our enemy here. I find a general idea prevailing, throughout the army and in the town of Boston, that the troops are soon to leave the town and go to some other part of the continent. New York is generally mentioned, as the place of their destination. I should think a rumor or suggestion of this kind worthy of very little notice, if it were not confirmed by some corresponding circumstances. But four weeks of total inactivity, with all their reinforcements arrived and recruited, the daily diminution by desertions, sickness, and small skirmishes, induce an opinion, that any effort they propose to make will be directed elsewhere.

I thought it proper just to hint to you what is probably intended, and you will then consider what regard is

to be paid to it, and what steps it will be expedient for you to take, if any. I am, with great respect and regard, Gentlemen, &c.

TO A COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Camp at Cambridge, 11 August, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

I have considered the papers you left with me yesterday.

As to the expedition proposed against Nova Scotia, by the inhabitants of Machias, I cannot but applaud their spirit and zeal; but, after considering the reasons offered for it, several objections occur, which seem to me unanswerable. I apprehend such an enterprise to be inconsistent with the general principle upon which the colonies have proceeded. That province has not acceded, it is true, to the measures of Congress; and, therefore, it has been excluded from all commercial intercourse with the other colonies; but it has not commenced hostilities against them, nor are any to be apprehended. To attack it, therefore, is a measure of conquest, rather than defence, and may be attended with very dangerous consequences. It might, perhaps, be easy, with the force proposed to make an incursion, into the province and overawe those of the inhabitants, who are inimical to our cause, and, for a short time, prevent their supplying the enemy with provisions; but, to produce any lasting effects, the same force must continue.

As to the furnishing vessels of force, you, Gentlemen, will anticipate me, in pointing out our weakness and the enemy's strength at sea. There would be great danger, that, with the best preparations we could make,

they would fall an easy prey, either to the men-of-war on that station, or to some which would be detached from Boston. I have been thus particular, to satisfy any gentlemen of the Court, who should incline to adopt the measure. I could offer many other reasons against it, some of which, I doubt not, will suggest themselves to the honorable Board. But it is unnecessary to enumerate them, when our situation as to ammunition absolutely forbids our sending a single ounce of it out of the camp at present. I am, Gentlemen, &c.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GAGE.

Head-Quarters, Cambridge, 11 August, 1775.

Sir,

I understand that the officers engaged in the cause of liberty and their country, who by the fortune of war have fallen into your hands, have been thrown, indiscriminately, into a common gaol appropriated for felons; that no consideration has been had for those of the most respectable rank, when languishing with wounds and sickness; and that some have been even amputated in this unworthy situation.

Let your opinion, Sir, of the principle which actuates them be what it may, they suppose that they act from the noblest of all principles, a love of freedom and their country. But political principles, I conceive, are foreign to this point. The obligations arising from the rights of humanity and claims of rank are universally binding and extensive, except in case of retaliation. These, I should have hoped, would have dictated a more tender treatment of those individuals, whom chance or war had put in your power. Nor can I forbear suggesting its fatal tendency to widen that unhappy breach, which you, and

those ministers under whom you act, have repeatedly declared your wish is to see for ever closed.

My duty now makes it necessary to apprize you, that, for the future, I shall regulate all my conduct towards those gentlemen, who are or may be in our possession, exactly by the rule you shall observe towards those of ours now in your custody.

If severity and hardship mark the line of your conduct, painful as it may be to me, your prisoners will feel its effects. But if kindness and humanity are shown to ours, I shall with pleasure consider those in our hands only as unfortunate, and they shall receive from me that treatment to which the unfortunate are ever entitled.

I beg to be favored with an answer as soon as possible, and am, Sir, your very humble servant.*

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Camp at Cambridge, 15 August, 1775.

SIR,

I received your favor of the 31st of July, informing me of your preparations to cross the Lake, and enclosing the affidavits of John Shatforth, and John Duguid.† Several Indians of the tribe of St. Francis came in here yesterday, and confirm the former accounts of the good dispositions of the Indian nations and Canadians to the interest of America; a most happy circumstance, on which I sincerely congratulate you.

* See the answer in the APPENDIX, No. VII.

† In consequence of the resolve of Congress (June 27th), authorizing General Schuyler to take possession of St. John's and Montreal, as soon as he should find it practicable, he had been making preparations for such an enterprise. He wrote to General Washington on the 31st of July, from Ticonderoga;—

"Since my last, I have been most assiduously employed in preparing

I am glad to relieve you from your anxiety, respecting troops being sent from Boston to Quebec. These reports, I apprehend, took their rise from a fleet being fitted out about fourteen days ago to plunder the islands in the Sound of their live stock; an expedition, which they have executed with some success, and are just returning; but you may depend on it no troops have been detached from Boston for Canada or elsewhere.

Among other wants, of which I find you have your proportion, we feel that of lead most sensibly; and as we have no expectation of a supply from the southward, I have concluded to draw upon the stock found at Ticonderoga when it fell into our hands. I am informed, that it is considerable, and that a part of it may be spared, without exposing you to any inconvenience. In consequence of this I have written to Governor Trumbull to take the direction of the transportation of it, supposing the conveyance through Connecticut the most safe and expeditious. I expect he will write you on this subject by this opportunity.

I have nothing new, my dear Sir, to write to you. We are precisely in the same situation, as to the enemy, as when I wrote last, nor can I gain any certain intelligence of their future intentions. The troops from the southward are come in very healthy and in good order. To-morrow I expect a supply of powder from Philadelphia, which will be a most seasonable relief in our present necessity. Per Capt Ross.

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materials for building boats to convey me across the Lake. The progress has hitherto been slow, as with few hands I had all the timber to cut, and mills to repair for sawing the plank; and my draft cattle extremely weak for want of feed, the drought having scorched up every kind of herbage. I have now one boat on the stocks, which I hope will carry near three hundred men. Another is putting up to-day. Provisions of the bread kind are scarce with me, and, therefore, I have not dared to order up a thousand men, that are at Albany, lest we should starve here."

God grant you health and success, equal to your merit and wishes. Favor me with intelligence as often as you can, and believe me with very sincere regard, dear Sir, yours, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Head-Quarters, Cambridge, 20 August, 1775.

Dear Sir,

Since my last of the 15th instant I have been favored with yours of the 6th. I am much concerned to find, that the supplies ordered have been so much delayed. By this time I hope Colonel McDougall, whose zeal is unquestionable, has joined you with every thing necessary for prosecuting your plan.

Several of the delegates from Philadelphia, who have visited our camp,* assure me that powder is forwarded to you; and the daily arrivals of that article give us reason to hope, that we shall soon have a very ample supply. Animated with the goodness of our cause, and the best wishes of our countrymen, I am sure you will not let any difficulties, not insuperable, damp your ardor. Perseverance and spirit have done wonders in all ages.†

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* The Continental Congress adjourned on the 1st of August till the 5th of September. In the mean time, several of the delegates visited the camp, particularly those from the eastern colonies.

† In a letter of the 6th of August, General Schuyler complains of the tardiness of the New York Provincial Congress in raising men. He says;—"Not a man from this colony has yet joined me, except those raised and paid by the Committee of Albany; nor have I yet received the necessary supplies, which I begged the New York Provincial Congress to send me, as long ago as the 3d of last month, and which the Continental Congress had desired them to do."

As soon as Ticonderoga was taken, the Albany Committee enlisted men to aid in holding that post. Two hundred and five men of this description were in service, when General Schuyler took command. Connecti-

In my last, a copy of which is enclosed, I sent you an account of the arrival of several St. Francis Indians in our camp, and their friendly dispositions. You have also a copy of the resolution of Congress, by which you will find it is their intention to seek only a neutrality of the Indian nations, unless the ministerial agents should engage them in hostilities, or enter into an offensive alliance with them. I have been, therefore, embarrassed in giving them an answer, when they have tendered their services and assistance. As your situation enables you best to know the motions of the Governor* and the agents, I proposed to the chief to go home by way of Ticonderoga, referring him to you for an answer, which you will give according to the intelligence you have had, and the judgment you have formed of the transactions among the Indians; but as he does not seem in any hurry to leave our camp, your answer by the return of this express may possibly reach me, before he returns, and alter his route. Four of his company still remain in our camp, and propose to stay some time with us.

The design of this express is to communicate to you a plan of an expedition, which has engaged my thoughts for several days. It is to penetrate into Canada, by way of Kennebec River, and so to Quebec by a route ninety miles below Montreal. I can very well spare a detachment for this purpose of one thousand, or twelve hundred men, and the land-carriage by the route proposed is too inconsiderable to make an objection. If

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cut had sent a thousand troops under Colonel Hinman, who succeeded Ethan Allen and Arnold in the command, which he retained till the arrival of General Schuyler. By a mutual stipulation, Connecticut was to furnish troops, and New York provisions. — See *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. I. pp. 53–60. *MS. Journal of the N. Y. Prov. Congress for June and July*, 1775.

* General Carleton, Governor of Canada.

you are resolved to proceed, which I gather from your last letter is your intention, it would make a diversion, that would distract Carleton, and facilitate your views. He must either break up and follow this party to Quebec, by which he will leave you a free passage, or he must suffer that important place to fall into our hands; an event that would have a decisive effect and influence on the public interests. There may be some danger, that such a sudden incursion might alarm the Canadians, and detach them from that neutrality which they have hitherto observed; but I should hope, that, with suitable precautions, and a strict discipline, any apprehensions and jealousies might be removed. The few, whom I have consulted upon it, approve it much; but the final determination is deferred until I hear from you. You will, therefore, by the return of this messenger, inform me of your ultimate resolution. If you mean to proceed, acquaint me as particularly as you can with the time and force, what late accounts you have had from Canada, and your opinion as to the sentiments of the inhabitants, as well as those of the Indians upon a penetration into their country; what number of troops are at Quebec, and whether any men-of-war; with all other circumstances, which may be material in the consideration of a step of such importance. Not a moment's time is to be lost in the preparations for this enterprise, if the advices received from you favor it. With the utmost expedition, the season will be considerably advanced, so that you will dismiss the express as soon as possible.

While the three New Hampshire companies remain in their present station, they will not be considered as composing a part of the Continental army, but as a militia under the direction and pay of the colony, whose inhabitants they are, or for whose defence they are sta-

tioned; so that it will not be proper for me to give any orders respecting them.*

We still continue in the same situation, as to the enemy, as when I wrote you last; but we have had six tons and a half of powder from the southward, which is a very seasonable supply. We are not able to learn any thing further of the intentions of the enemy, and they are too strongly posted for us to attempt any thing upon them at present.

My best wishes attend you; and believe me, with much truth and regard, my dear Sir, your very obedient humble servant.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GAGE.

Head-Quarters, Cambridge, 20 August, 1775.

SIR,

I addressed you, on the 11th instant, in terms which gave the fairest scope for that humanity and politeness, which were supposed to form a part of your character. I remonstrated with you on the unworthy treatment shown to the officers and citizens of America, whom the fortune of war, chance, or a mistaken confidence had thrown into your hands. Whether British or American mercy, fortitude, and patience are most pre-eminent; whether our virtuous citizens, whom the hand

* These three companies were stationed on the Connecticut River, at Coos, under the command of Captains Bedel, Osgood, and Parker, for the protection of the New Hampshire frontier. A deputation of the New Hampshire Congress had recently waited on General Washington, proposing that these companies should be taken into the Continental establishment. But he, considering them in the light of troops employed exclusively for the benefit of that province, did not think it proper to take them into the pay of the continent or to rank them as part of the Continental forces.

of tyranny has forced into arms to defend their wives, their children, and their property, or the mercenary instruments of lawless domination, avarice, and revenge, best deserve the appellation of rebels, and the punishment of that cord, which your affected clemency has forborne to inflict; whether the authority under which I act is usurped, or founded upon the genuine principles of liberty, were altogether foreign to the subject. I purposely avoided all political disquisition; nor shall I now avail myself of those advantages, which the sacred cause of my country, of liberty, and of human nature, give me over you; much less shall I stoop to retort and invective; but the intelligence you say you have received from our army requires a reply. I have taken time, Sir, to make a strict inquiry, and find it has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with the tenderness due to fellow citizens and brethren, but even those execrable parricides, whose counsels and aid have deluged their country with blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly enraged people. Far from compelling or permitting their assistance, I am embarrassed with the numbers, who crowd to our camp, animated with the purest principles of virtue and love to their country.

You advise me to give free operation to truth, and to punish misrepresentation and falsehood. If experience stamps value upon counsel, yours must have a weight, which few can claim. You best can tell how far the convulsion, which has brought such ruin on both countries, and shaken the mighty empire of Britain to its foundation, may be traced to these malignant causes.

You affect, Sir, to despise all rank not derived from the same source with your own. I cannot conceive one more honorable, than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest

source and original fountain of all power. Far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas would comprehend and respect it.

What may have been the ministerial views, which have precipitated the present crisis, Lexington, Concord, and Charlestown can best declare. May that God, to whom you then appeal, judge between America and you. Under his providence, those who influence the counsels of America, and all the other inhabitants of the United Colonies, at the hazard of their lives, are determined to hand down to posterity those just and invaluable privileges, which they received from their ancestors.

I shall now, Sir, close my correspondence with you, perhaps for ever. If your officers, our prisoners, receive a treatment from me different from that, which I wished to show them, they and you will remember the occasion of it. I am Sir, your very humble servant.*

TO SIR WILLIAM HOWE.†

Camp at Cambridge, 23 August, 1775.

SIR,

I flatter myself you have been misinformed, as to the conduct of the men under my command, complained of

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* General Washington's first letter to General Gage (August 11th), and his answer, were published by the British government in the London Gazette, about six weeks after they were written: but the above reply was withheld. — *Remembrancer*, Vol. I. p. 179; II. 60. The three letters were published together by order of Congress in October.

† This letter is in reply to the following. It relates merely to the camp at Charlestown, then under the command of General Howe, and not to the British lines generally.

"Charlestown Camp, 22 August, 1775.

"SIR,

"The men under your command, having repeatedly fired upon the officers of his Majesty's troops, before they were returned to the outworks of

in yours of yesterday. It is what I should highly disapprove and condemn.

I have not the least objection to put a stop to the intercourse between the two camps, either totally or partially. It obtained through the pressing solicitations of persons cruelly separated from their friends and connexions, and I understood was mutually convenient.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Camp at Cambridge, 29 August, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 1st instant, by Mr. Randolph, came safe to hand. The merits of this young gentleman, added to your recommendation, and my own knowledge of his character, induced me to take him into my family, as an aid-de-camp, in the room of Mr. Mifflin, whom I have appointed quartermaster-general, from a thorough persuasion of his integrity, my own experience of his activity, and, finally, because he stands unconnected with either of these governments, or with this, that, or the other man; for, between you and me, there is more in this than you can easily imagine.

I submit it, therefore, to your consideration, whether there is, or is not, a propriety in that resolution of the Congress, which leaves the ultimate appointment of all officers below the rank of generals, to the governments where the regiments originated, now the army is become

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this camp from parleys, that have been brought on by your desire, I am to request all further intercourse between the two camps may be at an end your own letters excepted, which will be received, if you are pleased to send them by a drummer. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

"W. HOWE."

"GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ. Cambridge."

Continental. To me it appears improper, in two points of view; first, it is giving that power and weight to an individual colony, which ought, of right, to belong only to the whole; and next, it damps the spirit and ardor of volunteers from all but the four New England governments, as none but their people have the least chance of getting into office. Would it not be better, therefore, to have the warrants, which the Commander-in-chief is authorized to give *pro tempore*, approved or disapproved by the Continental Congress, or a committee of their body, which I should suppose, in any long recess, must always sit. In this case every gentleman will stand an equal chance of being promoted, according to his merit; in the other, all offices will be confined to the inhabitants of the four New England governments, which, in my opinion, is impolitic to a great degree.

I have not been unmindful of that part of your letter respecting Point Alderton; before the receipt of it, it had become an object of my particular inquiry, but the accounts of its situation differ exceedingly, in respect to the command it has of the ship-channel. But my knowledge of this matter would not have been confined to inquiries only, if I had ever been in a condition, since my arrival here, to take possession of such a post; but you well know, my good Sir, that it becomes the duty of an officer to consider some other matters, as well as a situation, namely, what number of men are necessary to defend a place, how it can be supported, and how furnished with ammunition. In respect to the first, I conceive our defence of this place (Point Alderton) must be proportioned to the attack of General Gage's whole force, leaving him just enough to man his lines on Boston and Charlestown Necks; and with regard to the second, and most important, as well as alarming object, we have only one hundred and eighty-

four barrels of powder in all (including the late supply from Philadelphia), which is not sufficient to give twenty-five musket cartridges to each man, and scarcely to serve the artillery in any brisk action one single day. Under these circumstances, I dare say you will agree with me, that it would not be very eligible to take a post thirty miles distant, by land, from this place, when we have already a line of circumvallation round Boston, of at least ten miles in extent, to defend, any part of which may be attacked, without our having (if the enemy will keep their own counsel) an hour's previous notice of it; and that it would not be prudent in me to attempt a measure, which would necessarily bring on a consumption of all the ammunition we have, thereby leaving the army at the mercy of the enemy, or to disperse, and the country to be ravaged and laid waste at discretion. To you, Sir, I may account for my conduct; but I cannot declare the motives of it to every one, notwithstanding I know, by not doing it, that I shall stand in a very unfavorable light in the opinion of those, who expect much, and will find little done, without understanding, or, perhaps, giving themselves the trouble of inquiring into the cause. Such, however, is the fate of all those, who are obliged to act the part I do; I must, therefore, submit to it, under a consciousness of having done my duty to the best of my abilities.*

* To this part of the letter Mr. Lee replied as follows;

"I am greatly obliged to you for your favor of August the 29th, and you may be assured I shall pay great attention to it. When I mentioned securing the entrance of the harbour of Boston, it was more in the way of wishing it could be done, than as conceiving it very practicable. However, the reasons you assign are most conclusive against the attempt. I assure you, that so far as I can judge from the conversation of men, instead of there being any, who think you have not done enough, the wonder seems to be, that you have done so much. I believe there is not a man of common sense, and who is void of prejudice, in the world, but greatly approves the discipline you have introduced into the camp; since

On Saturday night last, we took possession of a hill in advance of our lines, and within point-blank shot of the enemy on Charlestown Neck. We worked incessantly the whole night one thousand two hundred men, and, before morning, got an intrenchment in such forwardness, as to bid defiance to their cannon. About nine o'clock, on Sunday, they began a heavy cannonade, which continued through the day, without any injury to our work, and with the loss of four men only; two of whom were killed through their own folly. To the insult of the cannonade, however, we were obliged to submit with impunity, not daring to make use of artillery on account of the consumption of powder, except one nine pounder, placed on a point, with which we silenced, and indeed sunk one of their floating batteries. This move of ours was made to prevent the enemy from gaining this hill, and we thought was giving them a fair challenge to dispute it, as we had been told by various people, who had just left Boston, that they were preparing to come out; but, instead of accepting it, we learn that it has thrown them into the greatest consternation, which might be improved, if we had the means of doing it. Yesterday afternoon they began a bombardment, without any effect as yet. As I expect this letter will meet you in Philadelphia, I

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reason and experience join in proving, that, without discipline, armies are fit only for the contempt and slaughter of their enemies. Your labors are no doubt great, both of mind and body; but if the praise of the present and future times can be any compensation, you will have a plentiful portion of that. Of one thing you may certainly rest assured, that the Congress will do every thing in their power to make your most weighty business easy to you.

"I think you could not possibly have appointed a better man to his present office than Mr. Mifflin. He is a singular man, and you certainly will meet with the applause and support of all good men by promoting and countenancing real merit and public virtue, in opposition to all private interests and partial affection."

must request the favor of you to present my affectionate and respectful compliments to Dr. Shippen, his lady and family, my brothers of the delegation, and any other inquiring friends; and, at the same time, do me the justice to believe that I am, with a sincere regard,

Your affectionate friend and obedient servant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 31 August, 1775.

SIR,

As the filling up the vacant place of brigadier-general will probably be of the first business of the honorable Congress, I flatter myself it will not be deemed assuming, to mention the names of two gentlemen, whose former services, rank, and age, may be thought worthy of attention on this occasion. Of the one I can speak from my own knowledge, of the other only from character. The former is Colonel John Armstrong, of Pennsylvania; he served during the last war, in most of the campaigns to the southward, was honored with the command of the Pennsylvania forces, and his general military conduct and spirit much approved by all who served with him; besides which, his character was distinguished by an enterprise against the Indians, which he planned with great judgment, and executed with equal courage and success.* It was not till lately that I had reason to believe he would enter again on public service; and it is now wholly unsolicited and unknown

* An attack on the Indian town of Kittaning, in Pennsylvania, September 8th, 1756. A silver medal and piece of plate were presented to Colonel Armstrong, by the Corporation of Philadelphia, for his bravery and good conduct on this occasion. An intimacy of many years' standing subsisted between him and Washington.

on his part. The other gentleman is Colonel Frye of Massachusetts Bay. He entered into the service as early as 1745, and rose through the different military ranks, in the succeeding wars, to that of colonel, until last June, when he was appointed a major-general by the Congress of this province.* From these circumstances, together with the favorable report made to me of him, I presume he sustained the character of a good officer, though I do not find it distinguished by any peculiar service.

Either of these gentlemen, or any other whom the honorable Congress shall please to favor with this appointment, will be received by me with the utmost deference and respect.

Last Saturday night we took possession of a hill considerably advanced beyond our former lines; which brought on a very heavy cannonade from Bunker's Hill, and afterwards a bombardment, which has been since kept up with little spirit on their part, or damage on ours. The work, having been continued ever since, is now so advanced, and the men so well covered, as to leave us under no apprehensions of much farther loss. In this affair we had killed one adjutant, one volunteer, and two privates. The scarcity of ammunition does not admit of our availing ourselves of the situation, as we otherwise might do; but this evil, I hope, will soon be remedied, as I have been informed of the arrival of a large quantity at New York, of some at New London, and of more expected hourly at different places. I need not add to what I have already said on this subject. Our late supply was very seasonable, but far short of

* He had been at the siege of Louisburg, and was taken prisoner at Fort William Henry. Both he and Colonel Armstrong were appointed brigadier-generals in the Continental army, according to the recommendation of the Commander-in-chief.

our necessities. The treatment of our officers, prisoners in Boston, induced me to write to General Gage on that subject. His answer and my reply I have the honor to lay before the Congress; since which I have heard nothing from him. I remain, with the greatest respect and regard, &c.

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Camp at Cambridge, 2 September, 1775.

SIR,

By the time you receive this letter, you will be able to judge with some certainty whether the fleet, which sailed last from Boston, was destined for your coast. If it has not yet arrived, we may conclude it has sailed to the eastward; if it has arrived, the issue will be known immediately; so that in either case the continuance of the new raised levies along the coast is unnecessary. You will, therefore, on receipt of this be pleased to order them to march immediately to this camp, directing the commanding officer, at the same time, to give me two or three days' notice of the time, in which the troops will arrive, that suitable accommodations may be prepared. Their presence is the more necessary, as I may in confidence inform you, that I am about to detach one thousand or twelve hundred men on an expedition into Canada, by way of Kennebec River; from which I have the greatest reason to expect, either that Quebec will fall into our hands a very easy prey, or such a diversion be made as will open an easy passage to General Schuyler.

We are now so well secured in our late advanced post on the hill, that the enemy have discontinued their cannonade. The men continue in good health and spirits.

I am, with much regard and esteem, &c.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL WOOSTER.*

Camp at Cambridge, 2 September, 1775.

SIR,

I have just received your favor of the 29th ultimo by express. I am very sensible, that the situation of the inhabitants of Long Island, as well as of all those on the coast, exposes them greatly to the ravages of the enemy, and it is to be wished that general protection could be extended to them, consistent with the prosecution of those great plans, which have been adopted for the common safety. This was early foreseen, and the danger provided for by a resolution of Congress, that each province should depend on its own internal strength against these incursions, the prejudice arising from them, even if successful, not being equal to that of separating the army into a number of small detachments, which would be harassed in fruitless marches and countermarches after an enemy, whose conveyance by shipping is so advantageous, that they might keep the whole coast in constant alarm, without our being able, perhaps, at any time to give them vigorous opposition. Upon this principle I have invariably rejected

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* General Wooster had been stationed with a regiment of Connecticut troops at Haerlem. Recently he had gone over to Long Island, at the request of the New York Provincial Congress, with four hundred and fifty men, for the purpose of protecting the inhabitants of that quarter from the threatened depredations of the British from Boston, who were sent out to procure from the island cattle and other provisions, which were accessible to their boats. Three companies had been raised on Long Island, as a part of the regiments voted by the New York Congress, which were placed on the Continental establishment. General Schuyler had ordered these companies to the northward; and as the people were thus left exposed to the ravages of the enemy, General Wooster wrote to the Commander-in-chief, suggesting that the detachment of his own regiment should be allowed to remain there, or be replaced by other troops.

every application made to me here, to keep any detachments on the coast for these purposes.

I should, therefore, most probably have thought it my duty to order the three companies, mentioned in your letter as having joined your army, to aid in the general service, had they not been under command from General Schuyler to join him; but as it is, I can by no means interfere. He is engaged in a service of the greatest importance to the whole continent, his strength and appointments being far short of his expectations, and to give any counter orders may not only defeat his whole plan, but must make me responsible to the public for the failure. Instead, therefore, of their further stay, I would have them march immediately. I fear the delay of the ten days may have very bad effects, as, by my last advice from Ticonderoga, General Schuyler was to march in a few days for Canada; and it is highly probable he may depend upon these companies to occupy the posts of communication, which otherwise he must weaken his army to do. No Provincial Congress can, with any propriety, interfere with the disposition of troops on the Continental establishment, much less control the orders of any general officer; so that in this instance the Congress at New York have judged properly, in declining to counteract General Schuyler's orders. I wish I could extend my approbation equally to the whole line of their conduct. Before you receive this letter, you will most probably be able to judge how far your continuance on Long Island will be farther necessary. If the fleet, which last sailed, was destined for those coasts, it must be arrived. If it is not, it is certainly gone to the eastward, and your present station is no longer necessary. The importance of preserving the communication of the North River, and many other reasons, induce me to wish you were returned to your

former post. The late transactions at New York furnish additional reasons for your being as near that city, as is consistent with the discipline and convenience of your troops. Your next, therefore, I flatter myself, will inform me of your having resumed your former station. I am, Sir, with much regard and esteem, &c.*

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE ISLAND OF BERMUDA.†

Camp at Cambridge, 6 September, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

In the great conflict, which agitates this continent, I cannot doubt but the assertors of freedom and the rights

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* General Wooster replied on the 28th of September, at Haerlem. — "I returned to this place immediately upon the receipt of your favor of the 2d instant; and, in pursuance of an order from the Continental Congress, I shall this afternoon embark with all the troops under my command for Albany, there to wait the orders of General Schuyler."

† In a letter to Governor Cooke, dated the 4th of August, it has been seen, that Washington suggested to him a plan for procuring powder from Bermuda. Two small armed vessels had already been fitted out by Rhode Island, and put under the command of Captain Abraham Whipple, with the design of protecting the bay and coast of that province from the depredations of the enemy. The plan was approved by the Governor and Committee of that province, and Captain Whipple agreed to engage in the affair, provided General Washington would give him a certificate under his own hand, that, in case the Bermudians would assist the undertaking, he would recommend to the Continental Congress to permit the exportation of provisions to those islands from the colonies; the captain pledging himself at the same time, that he would make no use of such a paper, unless he should be opposed by the inhabitants.

Captain Whipple sailed in the larger of the Rhode Island vessels, manned with [sixty-one] seamen. Governor Cooke applied to General Washington to draft seamen from the army; but this he declined, for the double reason, that he doubted his power to employ the soldiers at sea, and that it would at any rate be attended with too much publicity. The vessel was manned, therefore, by the agency of the Rhode Island Committee, and at the charge of that province. At this time a packet from England was daily expected at New York. It was thought desirable to intercept that packet, and Governor Cooke ordered Captain Whipple to cruise for it off the harbour of New York [fourteen] days, and, if he should

of the constitution are possessed of your most favorable regards and wishes for success. As descendants of freemen, and heirs with us of the same glorious inheritance, we flatter ourselves, that, though divided by our situation, we are firmly united in sentiment. The cause of virtue and liberty is confined to no continent or climate. It comprehends, within its capacious limits, the wise and good, however dispersed and separated in space or distance.

You need not be informed, that the violence and rapacity of a tyrannic ministry have forced the citizens of America, your brother colonists, into arms. We equally detest and lament the prevalence of those counsels,

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not fall in with it during that period, then to proceed immediately on his voyage to Bermuda. But he had scarcely sailed from Providence, before an account appeared in the newspapers of one hundred barrels of powder having been taken from Bermuda, by a vessel supposed to be from Philadelphia, and another from South Carolina. The facts were such, as to make it in the highest degree probable, that this was the same powder, which Captain Whipple had gone to procure. General Washington and Governor Cooke were both of opinion, that it was best to countermand his instructions. The other armed vessel of Rhode Island was immediately despatched in search of the captain, with orders, that, when he had finished the cruise in quest of the packet, he should return to Providence. But it was too late. Captain Whipple had heard of the arrival of the packet at New York, and proceeded on his voyage to Bermuda.

He put in at the west end of the island. The inhabitants were at first alarmed, supposing him to command a King's armed vessel, and the women and children fled into the country; but, when he showed his commission and instructions, they treated him with much cordiality and friendship. They had assisted in removing the powder, which was made known to General Gage, and he had sent a sloop of war to take away all the superfluous provisions from the island. They professed themselves hearty friends to the American cause, but as Captain Whipple was defeated in the object of his voyage he returned speedily to Providence.— *Gov. Cooke's MS. Letters.*

Soon afterwards the inhabitants of Bermuda petitioned Congress for relief, representing their great distress, in consequence of the non-importation agreement, which deprived them of the supplies, that usually came from the colonies. In consideration of their being friendly to the cause of America, it was resolved by Congress, that provisions in certain quantities might be exported to them.— *Journ. of Cong. Nov. 22d.*

which have led to the effusion of so much human blood, and left us no alternative but a civil war, or a base submission. The wise Disposer of all events has hitherto smiled upon our virtuous efforts. Those mercenary troops, a few of whom lately boasted of subjugating this vast continent, have been checked in their earliest ravages, and are now actually encircled within a small space; their arms disgraced, and themselves suffering all the calamities of a siege. The virtue, spirit, and union of the provinces leave them nothing to fear, but the want of ammunition. The application of our enemies to foreign states, and their vigilance upon our coasts, are the only efforts they have made against us with success.

Under these circumstances, and with these sentiments, we have turned our eyes to you, Gentlemen, for relief. We are informed, that there is a very large magazine in your island under a very feeble guard. We would not wish to involve you in an opposition, in which, from your situation, we should be unable to support you; we knew not, therefore, to what extent to solicit your assistance, in availing ourselves of this supply; but, if your favor and friendship to North America and its liberties have not been misrepresented, I persuade myself you may, consistently with your own safety, promote and further this scheme, so as to give it the fairest prospect of success. Be assured, that, in this case, the whole power and exertion of my influence will be made with the honorable Continental Congress, that your island may not only be supplied with provisions, but experience every other mark of affection and friendship, which the grateful citizens of a free country can bestow on its brethren and benefactors. I am, &c.

TO THE MAJOR AND BRIGADIER GENERALS.

Circular.

Camp at Cambridge, 8 September, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

As I mean to call upon you in a day or two for your opinions upon a point of very great importance to the welfare of this continent in general, and this colony in particular, I think it proper, indeed an incumbent duty on me, previous to this meeting to intimate to you the end and design of it, that you may have time to consider the matter with that deliberation and attention, which the importance of it requires.

It is to know, whether, in your judgment, we cannot make a successful attack upon the troops at Boston by means of boats, in coöperation with an attempt upon their lines at Roxbury. The success of such an enterprise depends, I well know, upon the All-wise Disposer of events, and it is not within the reach of human wisdom to foretell the issue; but if the prospect is fair, the undertaking is justifiable for the following, among other reasons, which might be assigned.

The season is now fast approaching, when warm and comfortable barracks must be erected for the security of the troops against the inclemency of winter. Large and costly provision must be made in the article of wood for the supply of the army; and after all that can be done in this way, it is but too probable that fences, woods, orchards, and even houses themselves will fall a sacrifice to the want of fuel before the end of winter. A very considerable difficulty, if not expense, must accrue on account of clothing for the men now engaged in the service; and if they do not enlist again, this difficulty will be increased to an almost insurmountable degree.

Blankets, I am informed, are now much wanted, and not to be got. How then shall we be able to keep soldiers to their duty, already impatient to get home, when they come to feel the severity of winter without proper covering? If this army should not feel inclined to engage for a longer time than the 1st of January, what consequences more certainly can follow, than that you must either be obliged to levy new troops and thereby have two sets, or partly so, in pay at the same time, or by disbanding one before you get the other, expose the country to desolation and the cause perhaps to irretrievable ruin. These things are not unknown to the enemy; perhaps it is the very ground they are building on, if they are not waiting for a large reinforcement; and if they are waiting for succours, ought it not to give a spur to the attempt? Our powder, not much of which will be consumed in such an enterprise, without any certainty of a supply, is daily wasting; and, to sum up the whole, the expense of supporting this army will so far exceed any idea, that was formed in Congress of it, that I do not know what will be the consequences.

These, among other reasons, which might be assigned, induce me to wish a speedy termination of the dispute; but to avoid these evils we are not to lose sight of the difficulties, the hazard, and the loss, that may accompany the attempt, nor what will be the probable consequences of a failure.

That every circumstance for and against this measure may be duly weighed, that there may be time for doing it, and nothing of this importance resolved on, but after mature deliberation, I give this previous notice of the intention of calling you together on Monday next at nine o'clock, at which time you are requested to attend at head-quarters. It is unnecessary, I am persuaded,

to recommend secrecy. The success of the enterprise, if undertaken, must depend in a great measure upon the suddenness of the stroke. I am with great esteem, &c.*

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Camp at Cambridge, 8 September, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your favor of the 31st of August. I am much engaged in sending off the detachment under Colonel Arnold, upon the plan contained in mine of the 20th ultimo. A variety of obstacles have retarded us, since the express returned with yours of the 27th from Albany; but we are now in such forwardness, that I expect they will set out by Sunday next at farthest. I shall take care in my instructions to Colonel Arnold, that, in case there should be a junction of the detachment with your army, you shall have no difficulty in adjusting the scale of command.

You seem so sensible of the absolute necessity of preserving the friendship of the Canadians, that I need say nothing on that subject; except that a strict discipline, and punctual payment for all necessaries brought to your camp, will be the most certain means of attaining so valuable and important an end. I shall inculcate the same principle most strongly on our troops, who go from hence, as that on which their safety, success, and honor entirely depend.

I am truly concerned, that your supplies and appoint-

* The council of war met, in conformity with this notice, on the 11th of September, and after duly considering the proposition, and the reasons assigned, it was unanimously agreed, that, "considering the state of the enemy's lines, and the expectation of soon receiving some important advices from England, it was not expedient to make the attempt."

ments are so far short of your expectations; but I trust you will have a feeble enemy to contend with, and a whole province on your side, two circumstances of great weight in the scale. Your situation for some time must be so critical and interesting, that I hope you will not fail to give me constant information of your motions and success.

Believe me, with much truth and regard, dear Sir, your obedient and humble servant.

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Camp at Cambridge, 8 September, 1775.

SIR,

Upon the receipt of this you will please to give directions, that all the new levies march immediately to this camp. By a resolution of Congress, the troops on the Continental establishment were not to be employed for the defence of the coasts, or of any particular province, the militia being deemed competent to that service. When I directed these troops to remain in their own province, I had some reason to expect a remove from Boston to New York, in which case they would have been able to give the enemy a more speedy opposition; but as that suspicion now appears groundless, there will be an impropriety in continuing them where they now are, considering the above resolve.

The detachment, which I mentioned in my last, will march in two days, and I shall have occasion for the troops from you to fill their places. The ministerial expedition must, I apprehend, by this time have come to some issue; they are either returned with disappointment, or have succeeded in their errand; in either case the men can be spared without danger to the country.

But should this not be the case, and they are still hovering on the coast, it is to make no difference in their march; so that I shall at all events expect them here next week, for which you will please to give the necessary orders. I am, &c.

TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

Camp at Cambridge, 10 September, 1775.

Dear Brother,

So little has happened since the date of my last, that I should scarcely have given you the trouble of reading this letter, did I not imagine that it might be some satisfaction to you to know, that we are well, and in no fear or dread of the enemy; being, in our own opinion at least, very securely intrenched, and wishing for nothing more than to see the enemy out of their strong-holds, that the dispute may come to an issue. The inactive state we lie in is extremely disagreeable, especially as we can see no end to it, having had no advices lately from Great Britain to form a judgment upon.

In taking possession, about a fortnight ago, of a hill within point-blank cannon-shot of the enemy's lines on Charlestown Neck, we expected to bring on a general action, especially as we had been threatened by reports from Boston several days before, that the enemy intended an attack upon our intrenchments. Nothing, however, followed but a severe cannonade for a day or two, and a bombardment afterwards for the like time; which, however, did us no other damage, than to kill two or three men, and to wound as many more. Both are now at an end, as they found that we disregarded their fire, and continued our works till we had got them completed.

Unless the ministerial troops in Boston are waiting for reinforcements, I cannot devise what they are staying there for, nor why, as they affect to despise the Americans, they do not come forth, and put an end to the contest at once. They suffer greatly for want of fresh provisions, notwithstanding they have pillaged from several islands a good many sheep and cattle. They are also scarce of fuel, unless, according to the account of one of their deserters, they mean to pull down houses for that article. In short, they are, from all accounts, suffering all the inconveniences of a siege. It is true, from their having the entire command of the sea, and a powerful navy, and, moreover, as they are now beginning to take all vessels indiscriminately, we cannot stop their supplies through that channel; but their succours in this way have not been so powerful, as to enable them to give the common soldiers much fresh meat as yet. By an account from Boston, of the 4th instant, the cattle lately brought in there sold at public auction from fifteen to thirty-four pounds ten shillings sterling apiece; and the sheep from thirty to thirty-six shillings each; and fowls and every other species of fresh provisions went in proportion. The expense of this, one would think, must soon tire them, were it not, that they intend to fix all the expense of this war upon the colonies, — if they can, I suppose we shall add.

I am just sending off a detachment of one thousand men to Quebec, by the way of Kennebec River, to cooperate with General Schuyler, who by this time is, I expect, at or near St. John's, on the north end of Lake Champlain; and may, for aught I know, have determined the fate of his army and that of Canada, as he left Crown Point the 31st of last month for the the Isle-aux-Noix, within twelve miles of St. John's, where Governor Carleton's principal force lay. If he should succeed

there, he will soon after be in Montreal without opposition; and if the detachment I am sending from hence, though late in the season, should be able to get possession of Quebec, the ministry's plan, in respect to that government, will be defeated.

I have only to add my love to my sister and the little ones, and that I am, with the greatest truth, your most affectionate brother.

TO COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Instructions.

1. You are immediately on their march from Cambridge to take the command of the detachment from the Continental army against Quebec, and use all possible expedition, as the winter season is now advancing, and the success of this enterprise, under God, depends wholly upon the spirit with which it is pushed, and the favorable dispositions of the Canadians and Indians.

2. When you come to Newburyport you are to make all possible inquiry, what men-of-war or cruisers there may be on the coast, to which this detachment may be exposed on their voyage to Kennebec River; and, if you should find that there is danger of your being intercepted, you are not to proceed by water, but by land, taking care on the one hand not to be diverted by light and vague reports, and on the other not to expose the troops rashly to a danger, which by many judicious persons has been deemed very considerable.

3. You are, by every means in your power, to endeavour to discover the real sentiments of the Canadians towards our cause, and particularly as to this

expedition, bearing in mind, that if they are averse to it and will not coöperate, or at least willingly acquiesce, it must fail of success. In this case you are by no means to prosecute the attempt; the expense of the expedition, and the disappointment, are not to be put in competition with the dangerous consequences, which may ensue from irritating them against us, and detaching them from that neutrality, which they have adopted.

4. In order to cherish those favorable sentiments to the American cause, that they have manifested, you are, as soon as you arrive in their country, to disperse a number of the addresses you will have with you, particularly in those parts, where your route shall lie; and observe the strictest discipline and good order, by no means suffering any inhabitant to be abused, or in any manner injured, either in his person or property, punishing with exemplary severity every person, who shall transgress, and making ample compensation to the party injured.

5. You are to endeavour, on the other hand, to conciliate the affections of those people, and such Indians as you may meet with, by every means in your power; convincing them, that we come, at the request of many of their principal people, not as robbers or to make war upon them, but as the friends and supporters of their liberties as well as ours. And to give efficacy to these sentiments, you must carefully inculcate upon the officers and soldiers under your command, that, not only the good of their country and their honor, but their safety, depend upon the treatment of these people.

6. Check every idea and crush in its earliest stage every attempt to plunder even those, who are known to be enemies to our cause. It will create dreadful apprehensions in our friends, and, when it is once begun, no one can tell where it will stop. I there-

fore again most expressly order, that it be discouraged and punished in every instance without distinction.

7. Any King's stores, which you shall be so fortunate as to possess yourself of, are to be secured for the Continental use, agreeably to the rules and regulations of war published by the honorable Congress. The officers and men may be assured, that any extraordinary services performed by them will be suitably rewarded.

8. Spare neither pains nor expense to gain all possible intelligence on your march, to prevent surprises and accidents of every kind, and endeavour if possible to correspond with General Schuyler, so that you may act in concert with him. This, I think, may be done by means of the St. Francis Indians.

9. In case of a union with General Schuyler, or if he should be in Canada upon your arrival there, you are by no means to consider yourself as upon a separate and independent command, but are to put yourself under him and follow his directions. Upon this occasion, and all others, I recommend most earnestly to avoid all contention about rank. In such a cause every post is honorable, in which a man can serve his country.

10. If Lord Chatham's son should be in Canada, and in any way should fall into your power, you are enjoined to treat him with all possible deference and respect. You cannot err in paying too much honor to the son of so illustrious a character, and so true a friend to America. Any other prisoners, who may fall into your hands, you will treat with as much humanity and kindness, as may be consistent with your own safety and the public interest. Be very particular in restraining, not only your own troops, but the Indians, from all acts of cruelty and insult, which will disgrace the American arms, and irritate our fellow subjects against us.

11. You will be particularly careful to pay the full value for all provisions, or other accommodations, which the Canadians may provide for you on your march. By no means press them or any of their cattle into your service, but amply compensate those, who voluntarily assist you. For this purpose you are provided with a sum of money in specie, which you will use with as much frugality and economy, as your necessities and good policy will admit, keeping as exact an account as possible of your disbursements.

12. You are by every opportunity to inform me of your progress, your prospects, and intelligence, and upon any important occurrence to send an express.

13. As the season is now far advanced, you are to make all possible despatch; but if unforeseen difficulties should arise, or if the weather should become so severe, as to render it hazardous to proceed, in your own judgment and that of your principal officers, whom you are to consult,—in that case you are to return, giving me as early notice as possible, that I may render you such assistance as may be necessary.

14. As the contempt of the religion of a country by ridiculing any of its ceremonies, or affronting its ministers or votaries, has ever been deeply resented, you are to be particularly careful to restrain every officer and soldier from such imprudence and folly, and to punish every instance of it. On the other hand, as far as lies in your power, you are to protect and support the free exercise of the religion of the country, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters, with your utmost influence and authority.

Given under my hand, at head-quarters, Cambridge, this 14th day of September, 1775.*

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* A full account of this expedition, containing many of Arnold's letters,

TO COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Camp at Cambridge, 14 September, 1775.

SIR,

You are entrusted with a command of the utmost consequence to the interest and liberties of America. Upon your conduct and courage, and that of the officers and soldiers detached on this expedition, not only the success of the present enterprise, and your own honor, but the safety and welfare of the whole continent may depend. I charge you, therefore, and the officers and soldiers under your command, as you value your own safety and honor, and the favor and esteem of your country, that you consider yourselves, as marching not through the country of an enemy, but of our friends and brethren, for such the inhabitants of Canada, and the Indian nations, have approved themselves in this unhappy contest between Great Britain and America; and that you check, by every motive of duty and fear of punishment, every attempt to plunder or insult the inhabitants of Canada. Should any American soldier be so base and infamous as to injure any Canadian or Indian, in his person or property, I do most earnestly enjoin you to bring him to such severe and exemplary punishment, as the enormity of the crime may require. Should it extend to death itself, it will not be disproportioned to its guilt, at such a time and in such a cause.

But I hope and trust, that the brave men, who have voluntarily engaged in this expedition, will be governed

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and the names and rank of the principal officers engaged, may be seen in the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, Vol. I. pp. 341–416.

Colonel Arnold was much assisted by a set of plans and a journal furnished by Mr. Samuel Goodwin, of Pownalborough in Maine, who had resided twenty-five years in that country as a surveyor, and was well acquainted with the waters of the Kennebec, and the route to the Chaudière River in Canada.

by far different views; and that order, discipline, and regularity of behaviour, will be as conspicuous as their valor. I also give it in charge to you to avoid all disrespect of the religion of the country, and its ceremonies. Prudence, policy, and a true Christian spirit, will lead us to look with compassion upon their errors without insulting them. While we are contending for our own liberty, we should be very cautious not to violate the rights of conscience in others, ever considering that God alone is the judge of the hearts of men, and to him only in this case they are answerable.

Upon the whole, Sir, I beg you to inculcate upon the officers and soldiers the necessity of preserving the strictest order during the march through Canada; to represent to them the shame, disgrace, and ruin to themselves and their country, if they should by their conduct turn the hearts of our brethren in Canada against us; and, on the other hand, the honors and rewards, which await them, if by their prudence and good behaviour they conciliate the affections of the Canadians and Indians to the great interests of America, and convert those favorable dispositions they have shown into a lasting union and affection. Thus wishing you, and the officers and soldiers under your command, all honor, safety, and success, I remain, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF CANADA.*

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

The unnatural contest between the English colonies and Great Britain has now risen to such a height, that arms alone must decide it. The colonies, confiding in the justice of their cause, and the purity of their intentions, have reluctantly appealed to that Being, in whose hands are all human events. He has hitherto smiled upon their virtuous efforts, the hand of tyranny has been arrested in its ravages, and the British arms, which have shone with so much splendor in every part of the globe, are now tarnished with disgrace and disappointment. Generals of approved experience, who boasted of subduing this great continent, find themselves circumscribed within the limits of a single city and its suburbs, suffering all the shame and distress of a siege, while the free-born sons of America, animated by the genuine principles of liberty and love of their country, with increasing union, firmness, and discipline, repel every attack, and despise every danger.

Above all we rejoice, that our enemies have been deceived with regard to you. They have persuaded themselves, they have even dared to say, that the Canadians were not capable of distinguishing between the blessings of liberty, and the wretchedness of slavery; that gratifying the vanity of a little circle of nobility would blind the people of Canada. By such artifices they hoped to bend you to their views, but they have been deceived; instead of finding in you a poverty of soul and baseness of spirit, they see with a chagrin,

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* This paper was printed in hand-bills before Arnold left Cambridge, with the view of having the copies distributed as soon as he should arrive in Canada.

equal to our joy, that you are enlightened, generous, and virtuous; that you will not renounce your own rights, or serve as instruments to deprive your fellow subjects of theirs. Come then, my brethren, unite with us in an indissoluble union, let us run together to the same goal. We have taken up arms in defence of our liberty, our property, our wives, and our children; we are determined to preserve them, or die. We look forward with pleasure to that day, not far remote, we hope, when the inhabitants of America shall have one sentiment, and the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free government.

Incited by these motives, and encouraged by the advice of many friends of liberty among you, the grand American Congress have sent an army into your province, under the command of General Schuyler, not to plunder, but to protect you; to animate, and bring into action those sentiments of freedom you have disclosed, and which the tools of despotism would extinguish through the whole creation. To coöperate with this design, and to frustrate those cruel and perfidious schemes, which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children, I have detached Colonel Arnold into your country, with a part of the army under my command. I have enjoined it upon him, and I am certain that he will consider himself, and act, as in the country of his patrons and best friends. Necessaries and accommodations of every kind, which you may furnish, he will thankfully receive, and render the full value. I invite you therefore as friends and brethren, to provide him with such supplies as your country affords; and I pledge myself, not only for your safety and security, but for an ample compensation. Let no man desert his habitation; let no one flee as before an enemy.

The cause of America, and of liberty, is the cause of

every virtuous American citizen; whatever may be his religion or descent, the United Colonies know no distinction but such as slavery, corruption, and arbitrary dominion may create. Come, then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general liberty, against which all the force and artifices of tyranny will never be able to prevail.

TO THOMAS EVERARD, VIRGINIA.

Camp at Cambridge, 17 September, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

As I believe it will be three years next December since some of my Ohio lands (under the proclamation of 1754) were patented; and as they are not yet improved agreeably to the express letter of the law, it behoves me to have recourse, in time, to the common expedient of saving them by means of a friendly petition. My distance from Williamsburg, and my ignorance of the mode of doing this, lays me under the necessity of calling upon some friend for assistance. Will you, then, my good Sir, aid me in this work? I shall acknowledge it as a singular favor if you will, and, unless you discourage me, I shall rely on it.

I have already been at as much expense in attempting to seat and improve these lands, as would nearly if not quite have saved them, agreeably to our act of Assembly, had it been laid out thereon. In March, 1774, I sent out more than twenty servants and hirelings, with a great number of tools, nails, and necessaries for this purpose; but, hostilities commencing with the Indians, they got no further than the Red-stone settlement, where the people dispersed, my goods were seized and lost, and the whole expedition, which I suppose stood

me in at least three hundred pounds, came to nothing. In March last, I again purchased servants, and hired men at considerable wages, and sent out a second time; but what they have done, I neither know nor have heard, further than that, after buying tools and provisions at most exorbitant prices, and not being able to procure a sufficiency of the latter, my servants, for the most part, had run away, and the manager with a few negroes and hirelings was left in an almost starving condition. This, Sir, is my situation; and to avoid a total loss of the lands (as I conceive there are some peculiar circumstances attending the matter, on account of other claims), and to prevent involving myself in any disagreeable controversy in defence of my property, having already had a great deal of trouble about it, I am desirous of adopting in proper time the method of petitioning.

The enemy and we are very near neighbours. Our advanced works are not more than five or six hundred yards from theirs, and the main bodies of the two armies scarcely a mile apart. We see every thing that passes, and that is all we can do, as they keep close on the two peninsulas of Boston and Charlestown, both of which are surrounded by ships of war and floating batteries; and the narrow necks of land leading into them are fortified in such a manner as not to be forced, without a very considerable slaughter, if practicable at all.

I am, with esteem, dear Sir, &c.

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Cambridge, 21 September, 1775.*

SIR,

It gives me real concern to observe by yours of the 15th instant, that you should think it necessary to distinguish between my personal and public character, and confine your esteem to the former. Upon a reperusal of mine of the 8th instant, I cannot think it bears the construction you have put upon it; and, unless that construction was the most obvious, I should have hoped that the respect I really have for you, and which I flattered myself I had manifested, would have called for the most favorable. In the disposition of the Con-

* The British men-of-war had been menacing the coasts of Connecticut, and Governor Trumbull, in addition to the militia near the seaboard, had ordered several companies of the new levies, raised for the Continental army, to be retained in the province, and stationed at places where the greatest danger was apprehended. Of this he had given notice to Washington in a letter of the 5th, but on the 8th the General sent an express order to have all the new levies marched to the army. The Governor complied with the order, though apparently not well pleased with the manner in which it was given. In his answer, dated the 15th, he says;—

"I am surprised that mine of the 5th instant was not received, or not judged worthy of notice, as no mention is made of it. Stonington had been attacked, and severely cannonaded, and by Divine Providence marvellously protected. New London and Norwich are still so menaced by the ministerial ships and troops, that the militia cannot be thought sufficient for their security, and it is necessary to throw up some intrenchments. We are obliged actually to raise more men for their security, and for the towns of New Haven and Lyme. I hoped some of the new levies might have been left here, till these dangers were over, without injury to any of your operations. I own that it must be left to your judgment. Yet it would have given me pleasure to have been acquainted that you considered it. I thank Divine Providence and you for this early warning to great care and watchfulness, that so the union of the colonies may be settled on a permanent and happy basis.

"You may depend on our utmost exertions for the defence and security of the constitutional rights and liberty of the colonies, and of our own in particular. None has shown greater forwardness, and thereby rendered itself more the object of ministerial vengeance. I am, with great esteem and regard for your personal character," &c.

tinental troops, I have long been sensible that it would be impossible to please, not individuals merely, but particular provinces, whose partial necessities would occasionally call for assistance. I therefore thought myself happy, that the Congress had settled the point, and apprehended I should stand excused to all, for acting in the line, which not only appeared to me to be that of policy and propriety, but of express and positive duty. If, to the other fatigues and cares of my station, that is to be added of giving reasons for all orders, and explaining the grounds and principles on which they are formed, my personal trouble would perhaps be of the least concern. The public would be most affected. You may be assured, Sir, nothing was intended that might be construed into disrespect; and, at so interesting a period, nothing less ought to disturb the harmony so necessary for the happy success of our public operations.

The omission of acknowledging, in precise terms, the receipt of your favor of the 5th instant was purely accidental. The subject was not so new to me as to require long consideration. I had had occasion fully to deliberate upon it, in consequence of applications for troops from Cape Ann, Machias, New Hampshire, and Long Island, where the same necessity was as strongly pleaded, and, in the two last instances, the most peremptory orders were necessary to prevent the troops from being detained. I foresaw the same difficulty here. I am by no means insensible to the situation of the people on the coast. I wish I could extend protection to all; but the numerous detachments, necessary to remedy the evil, would amount to the dissolution of the army, or make the most important operations of the campaign depend upon the piratical expeditions of two or three men-of-war and transports.

The spirit and zeal of the colony of Connecticut are unquestionable; and whatever may be the hostile intentions of the men-of-war, I hope their utmost efforts can do little more than alarm the coast.

I am, with great esteem and regard for both your personal and public character, Sir, &c.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 21 September, 1775.

SIR,

The mode in which the present army has been collected has occasioned some difficulty, in procuring the subscription of both officers and soldiers to the Continental articles of war. Their principal objection has been, that it might subject them to a longer service, than that for which they engaged under their several provincial establishments. It is in vain to attempt to reason away the prejudices of a whole army, often instilled, and in this instance at least encouraged, by the officers from private and narrow views. I have therefore forborne pressing them, as I did not experience any such inconvenience from their adherence to their former rules, as would warrant the risk of entering into a contest upon it; more especially as the restraints, necessary for the establishment of essential discipline and subordi-

* In reply, Governor Trumbull wrote; — "I have no disposition to increase the weight of your burdens, which, in the multiplicity of your business, must be sufficiently heavy, nor inclination to disturb the harmony so necessary to the happy success of our public operations; I am persuaded no such difficulty will any more happen. It is unhappy, that jealousies should be excited, or disputes of any sort litigated, between any of the colonies, to disunite them at a time, when our liberty, our property, our all is at stake. If our enemies prevail, which our disunion may occasion, our jealousies will then appear frivolous, and all our disputed claims of no value to either side."

nation, indisposed their minds to every change, and made it both duty and policy to introduce as little novelty as possible. With the present army, I fear such a subscription is impracticable; but the difficulty will cease with this army.*

The Connecticut and Rhode Island troops stand engaged to the 1st of December only; and none longer than the 1st of January. A dissolution of the present army therefore will take place, unless some early provision is made against such an event. Most of the general officers are of opinion, that the greater part of them may be reënlisted for the winter, or another campaign, with the indulgence of a furlough to visit their friends, which may be regulated so as not to endanger the service. How far it may be proper to form the new army entirely out of the old, for another campaign, rather than from the contingents of the several provinces, is a question which involves in it too many considerations of policy and prudence, for me to undertake to decide. It appears to be impossible to draw it from any other source than the old army, for this winter; and, as the pay is ample, I hope a sufficient number will engage in the service for that time at least. But there are various opinions of the temper of the men on the subject; and there may be great hazard in deferring the trial too long.

In the Continental establishment no provision has been made for the pay of artificers, distinct from that of the common soldiers; whereas, under the provincial such as found their own tools were allowed one shilling *per diem* advance, and particular artisans more. The pay of the artillery, also, now differs from that of the prov-

* The Continental Articles of War, or, as they were otherwise called, "Rules and Regulations for the Army," may be seen in the *Journals of Congress, for June 30th*, 1775.

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ince; the men have less, the officers more; and, for some ranks, no provision is made, as the Congress will please to observe by the list, which I have the honor to enclose. These particulars, though seemingly inconsiderable, are the source of much complaint and dissatisfaction, which I endeavour to compose in the best manner I am able.

By the returns of the rifle companies, and that battalion, they appear to exceed their establishment very considerably. I doubt my authority to pay these extra men without the direction of the Congress; but it would be deemed a great hardship wholly to refuse them, as they have been encouraged to come.*

The necessities of the troops having required pay, I directed that those of the Massachusetts should receive for one month, upon their being mustered, and returning a proper roll; but a claim was immediately made for pay by lunar months; and several regiments have declined taking up their warrants on this account. As this practice was entirely new to me, though said to be

* The Continental Congress resolved on the 14th of June, the day before the appointment of the Commander-in-chief, that six companies of expert riflemen should be raised in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia. On the 22d, it was again resolved, that two more companies should be raised in Pennsylvania, and that the eight together should make a battalion, to be commanded by such field-officers, captains, and lieutenants, as should be recommended by the Assembly or Convention of the colony. The above twelve companies were all filled up with surprising celerity. One company arrived in Cambridge on the 25th of July, and eight others before the 14th of August, so that within two months orders had gone out, the men had been enlisted and equipped, and the whole had marched from four to seven hundred miles to camp. Captain Daniel Morgan, so much celebrated during the war, commanded one of these companies. He marched his men from Frederic county in Virginia, a distance of six hundred miles, in three weeks.

Congress had fixed the number of each company at eighty-two. When they arrived at Cambridge, the number considerably exceeded that limit, and the Commander doubted whether he was authorized to pay the supernumeraries. When the committee of Congress afterwards visited the

warranted by former usage here, the matter now waits the determination of the honorable Congress. I find, in Connecticut and Rhode Island, this point was settled by calendar months; in Massachusetts, though mentioned in the Congress, it was left undetermined; which is also the case of New Hampshire.

Enclosed is a petition from the subalterns, respecting their pay. Where there are only two of these in a company, I have considered one as an ensign, and ordered him pay as such, as in the Connecticut forces. I must beg leave to recommend this petition to the favor of the Congress, as I am of opinion the allowance is inadequate to their rank and service, and is one great source of that familiarity between the officers and men, which is so incompatible with subordination and discipline. Many valuable officers of those ranks, finding themselves unable to support the character and appearance of officers, I am informed, will retire as soon as the term of service is expired, if there is no alteration.

For the better regulation of duty, I found it necessary to settle the rank of the officers, and to number the regiments; and, as I had not received the commands of the Congress on the subject, and the exigence of the service forbade any farther delay, the general officers were considered as having no regiments; an

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camp, and this subject was referred to them, it was decided that they should all receive pay, but that the General should select from each company such as were not marksmen, and dismiss them, with an allowance of pay to go home. Dr. Gordon says (*Hist.* Vol. II. p. 69), that all these men were embodied and brought to camp "without a farthing advanced from the Continental treasury." This is an error. Accounts were forwarded to General Washington from Congress, amounting to more than six thousand pounds, Pennsylvania currency, for money and articles advanced to them, which sum was deducted from their future pay. These riflemen were enlisted for one year, and were the first troops ordered to be raised by the Continental Congress. The Pennsylvania battalion was commanded by Colonel William Thompson.

alteration, which, I understand, is not pleasing to some of them, but appeared to me and others to be proper, when it was considered, that, by this means, the whole army is put upon one footing, and all particular attachments are dissolved.*

I am now to inform the honorable Congress, that, encouraged by the repeated declarations of the Canadians and Indians, and urged by their requests, I have detached Colonel Arnold with a thousand men, to penetrate into Canada by way of Kennebec River, and, if possible, to make himself master of Quebec. By this manœuvre, I proposed either to divert Carleton from St. John's, which would leave a free passage to General Schuyler; or, if this did not take effect, Quebec, in its present defenceless state, must fall into his hands an easy prey. I made all possible inquiry, as to the distance, the safety of the route, and the danger of the season being too far advanced; but found nothing in either to deter me from proceeding, more especially as it met with very general approbation from all whom I consulted upon it. But, that nothing might be omitted, to enable me to judge of its propriety and probable consequences, I communicated it by express to General Schuyler, who approved of it in such terms, that I resolved to put it in immediate execution. They have now left this place seven days; and, if favored with a good wind, I hope soon to hear of their being safe in Kennebec River. For the satisfaction of the Congress, I here enclose a copy of the proposed route. I also do myself the honor of enclosing a manifesto, which I

* The Continental commissions were issued on the 20th. It was published in the orders, that "no person is to presume to demand a Continental commission, who is not in actual possession of the like commission from the proper authority of the colony, which he is engaged to serve."

caused to be printed here, and of which Colonel Arnold has taken a suitable number with him. I have also forwarded a copy of his instructions. From all which, I hope the Congress will have a clear view of the motives, plan, and intended execution of this enterprise, and that I shall be so happy as to meet with their approbation in it.

I was the more induced to make this detachment, as it is my clear opinion, from a careful observation of the movements of the enemy, corroborated by all the intelligence we receive by deserters and others (of the former of whom we have some every day), that the enemy have no intention to come out, until they are reinforced. They have been wholly employed for some time past in procuring materials for barracks, fuel, and making other preparations for winter. These circumstances, with the constant additions to their works, which are apparently defensive, have led to the above conclusion, and enabled me to spare this body of men where I hope they will be usefully and successfully employed.

The state of inactivity, in which this army has lain for some time, by no means corresponds with my wishes to relieve my country, by some decisive stroke, from the heavy expense its subsistence must create. After frequently reconnoitring the situation of the enemy in the town of Boston, collecting all possible intelligence, and digesting the whole, a surprise did not appear to me wholly impracticable, though hazardous. I communicated it to the general officers some days before I called them to a council, that they might be prepared with their opinions. The result I have the honor of enclosing. I cannot say that I have wholly laid it aside; but new events may occasion new measures. Of this I hope the honorable Congress can need no assurance, that there is not a man in America, who more

earnestly wishes such a termination of the campaign, as to make the army no longer necessary.

I have filled up the office of quartermaster-general, which the Congress was pleased to leave to me, by the appointment of Major Mifflin, which I hope and believe will be universally acceptable.

It gives me great pain to be obliged to solicit the attention of the honorable Congress to the state of this army, in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly distressing, to see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army, the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring, and no provision yet made for such important events. Added to these, the military chest is totally exhausted; the paymaster has not a single dollar in hand; the commissary-general assures me he has strained his credit, for the subsistence of the army, to the utmost. The quartermaster-general is precisely in the same situation; and the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny, upon the deduction from their stated allowance. I know not to whom I am to impute this failure; but I am of opinion, if the evil is not immediately remedied, and more punctuality observed in future, the army must absolutely break up. I hoped I had so fully expressed myself on this subject, both by letter, and to those members of the Congress, who honored the camp with a visit, that no disappointment could possibly happen. I therefore hourly expected advice from the paymaster, that he had received a fresh supply, in addition to the hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars delivered to him in August; and thought myself warranted to assure the public creditors, that in a few days they should be satisfied. But the delay has brought matters to such a crisis, as admits of no farther uncertain expectation. I have

therefore sent off this express with orders to make all possible despatch. It is my most earnest request, that he may be returned with all possible expedition, unless the honorable Congress have already forwarded what is so indispensably necessary. I have the honor to be, &c.

TO MAJOR CHRISTOPHER FRENCH.*

Camp at Cambridge, 26 September, 1775.

SIR,

Your favor of the 18th instant is now before me, as well as that from the Committee of Hartford on the same subject. When I compare the treatment you have received with that, which has been shown to those brave American officers, who were taken fighting gallantly in defence of the liberties of their country, I cannot help expressing some surprise, that you should thus earnestly contest points of mere punctilio. The appellation of Rebel has been deemed sufficient to sanctify every species of cruelty to them; while the ministerial officers, the voluntary instruments of an avaricious and vindictive ministry, claim, upon all occasions, the benefit of those military rules, which can only be binding where they are mutual. We have shown, on our part, the strongest disposition to observe them, during the present contest; but I should ill support my country's honor, and my own character, if I did not show a proper sense of their sufferings, by making the condition of the ministerial officers in some degree dependent upon theirs.

My disposition does not allow me to follow the unworthy example set me by General Gage to its fullest

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* A British officer, who was a prisoner at Hartford, having been sent there on parole by the Committee of Safety in Philadelphia.

extent. You possess all the essential comforts of life; why should you press for indulgences of a ceremonious kind, which give general offence?

I have looked over all the papers sent me from Philadelphia. I find nothing in them upon the present subject, nor do I know whether the liberty of wearing your sword was given or taken. But I flatter myself, that, when you come to consider all circumstances, you will save me the trouble of giving any positive directions. You will easily conceive how much more grateful a compliance with the wishes of the people, among whom your residence may be longer than you expect, will appear, when it is the result of your prudence and good sense, rather than of a determination from me. I therefore should be unwilling to deprive you of an opportunity of cultivating their esteem by so small a concession as this must be.

As I suppose your several letters to me have been communicated to others, I cannot forbear considering your conduct in "declaring, in a high tone, that, had you joined your regiment, you would have acted vigorously against this country, and done all in your power to reduce it,"* as a deviation from the line of propriety and prudence, which I should have expected to distinguish the conduct of so old and experienced an officer. Your

* That Major French was a man of spirit, and something of a Hotspur, is evident from this extract, as well as other parts of his letters. It is but fair, however, to introduce his reply to this paragraph. — "I was asked by Mr. Paine," says he, "if I would not fight against the colonies if set at liberty, and I answered that I would, in which might have been included, that I would endeavour to reduce them, but I did not say so; and I must appeal to you, Sir, if the question need or should have been asked. The answer was obvious, and therefore it could only be asked with a design to have something to say. I told them, therefore, that I gloried in serving my king and country, and should always do so, and I glory even in repeating it to you. I am convinced, Sir, you will not think the worse of me for supporting my honor as a man, and a British officer, which, in all

being so entirely in our power may extinguish the resentment, which a generous and enlightened mind would otherwise feel; but I cannot commend the conduct, which puts such a mind to the trial.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF HARTFORD.

Camp at Cambridge, 26 September, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

Your favor of the 18th instant, and one from Major French on the same subject, have come safely to hand. From the general character of this gentleman, and the acknowledged politeness and attention of the Committee of Hartford to the gentlemen intrusted to their care, I flattered myself, that there would be a mutual emulation of civility, which would have resulted in the ease and convenience of both. I am extremely sorry to find it otherwise; and, upon a reperusal of former letters and papers, respecting these gentlemen, I cannot think there is any thing particular in their situation, which can claim a distinction. If the circumstance of wearing their swords had created no dissatisfaction, I should not have interfered, considering it, in itself, as a matter of indifference; but, as it has become so, partly, perhaps, by the inadvertent expressions, which have dropped on this occasion, I persuade myself, that Major French, for the sake of his own convenience and ease, and to save me further trouble, will consider what is not

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situations, I am determined to do."—There was a spice of impudence, as well as bravado, in Major French's letters, but they evinced honorable feelings, and were answered with respect and kindness by Washington. The Major assumed it as a title to consideration, and perhaps justly, that he was an officer of thirty-three years' service.

essential to either his comfort or happiness, except as mere opinion makes it so.

On the other hand, allow me to recommend a gentleness, even to forbearance, with persons so entirely in our power. We know not what the chance of war may be; but, let it be what it will, the duties of humanity and kindness will demand from us such a treatment, as we should expect from others, the case being reversed.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER.

Head-Quarters, 26 September, 1775.

SIR,

I have perused and considered a petition, or rather a remonstrance, directed to you and signed by several captains and subalterns, on the appointment of Mr. Huntington to the lieutenancy of Captain Chester's company.

The decent representation of officers, or even of common soldiers, through the channel of their Colonel, or other superior officers, I shall always encourage and attend to; but I must declare my disapprobation of this mode of associating and combining, as subversive of all subordination, discipline, and order.

Should the proper officers refuse or neglect to receive their complaints, an immediate application to their general officer would be proper. Much as I disapprove the mode of opposition to this gentleman, I disapprove the opposition itself still more. To yield to it would be in effect to surrender the command of the army to those, whose duty it is, and whose honor it ought to be, to obey. Commissions should be ever the reward of merit, not of age, and I am determined never

to put it out of the proper power to reward a deserving, active officer, whatsoever may be his standing in the army, or the pretensions of those, who have no other merit than that of having been born or enlisted before him.

In an army so young as ours, the claims arising from real service are very few, and the accidental circumstance of obtaining a commission a month or two sooner can with no reasonable person claim any superior regard, or make such a scrutiny of any consequence. This army is supported by the whole continent; the establishment is entirely new. All provincial customs, therefore, which are different in different provinces, must be laid out of the question. The power, which has established and which pays this army, has alone the right to judge, who shall command in it, from the general to the ensign. To put it into any other hands would be a high breach of my trust, and would give birth to such factions and cabals, as must soon end in the dissolution of the army, and the ruin of our country.

As no objections are made to Mr. Huntington's character, nor any other reason assigned, than his not rising by gradation, I can make no alteration in his appointment. At the same time I declare, that I shall upon all occasions pay a proper respect to long service, and as far as lies in my power give it all the preference, which is consistent with the welfare of the army and the duties of my station. I make no doubt, therefore, when these and all other officers (who, in such cases, are both parties and judges) divest themselves of prejudice and partiality, they will cheerfully acquiesce in such appointments as are made, and manifest their sincere attachment to their country, and the great cause in which we are engaged, by a ready and hearty obedience to all orders and rules judged necessary for the general interest. I am, Sir, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 30 September, 1775.

SIR,

The Rev. Mr. Kirkland,* the bearer of this, having been introduced to the honorable Congress, can need no particular recommendation from me. But as he now wishes to have the affairs of his mission and public employ put upon some suitable footing, I cannot but intimate my sense of the importance of his station, and the great advantages which may result to the United Colonies, from his situation being made respectable.

All accounts agree, that much of the favorable disposition, shown by the Indians, may be ascribed to his labor and influence. He has accompanied a chief of the Oneidas to this camp, which I have endeavoured to make agreeable to him, both by civility and some small presents. Mr. Kirkland being also in some necessity for money to bear his travelling charges and other expenses, I have supplied him with thirty-two pounds lawful money.

I cannot but congratulate the honorable Congress on the happy temper of the Canadians and Indians, our accounts of which are now fully confirmed by some intercepted letters from officers in Canada to General Gage and others in Boston, which were found on board the vessel lately taken, going into Boston with a donation of cattle and other fresh provisions for the ministerial army. I have the honor to be, &c.†

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* The Rev. Samuel Kirkland was missionary to the Oneida Indians, among whom he resided many years.— See *Life of Ledyard*, 2d. ed. p. 9.

† In a letter from General Carleton to General Gage, dated at Montreal, September 16th, he gives an account of the landing of the Americans in the woods near St. John's, and says they were driven back to their boats by a party of Indians, and adds;—

"They then retired to the Isle aux Noix, where they remain, and send

TO CAPTAIN DANIEL MORGAN.

Camp at Cambridge, 4 October, 1775.

Sir,

I write to you in consequence of information I have received, that you and the captains of the rifle companies on the detachment against Quebec, claim an exemption from the command of all the field-officers, except Colonel Arnold. I understand this claim is founded upon some expressions of mine; but, if you understood me in this way, you are much mistaken in my meaning. My intention is, and ever was, that every officer should command according to his rank. To do otherwise would subvert all military order and authority, which, I am sure, you could not wish or expect.

Now the mistake is rectified, I trust you will exert yourself to support my intentions, ever remembering that by the same rule by which you claim an independent command, and break in upon military authority, others will do the same in regard to you, and, of consequence, the expedition must terminate in shame and disgrace to yourselves, and the reproach and detriment of your country. To a man of true spirit and military character, farther argument is unnecessary. I shall, therefore, recommend to you to preserve the utmost har-

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out emissaries to the Canadians and Indians, among whom they have been too successful. Many Indians have gone over to them, and large numbers of Canadians are with them at Chamblee. The people in general seem inclined that way, though the gentlemen, the clergy, and most of the bourgeois have manifested a fidelity to the King's service. We have succeeded in raising only fourscore militia.

"Thus we are on the very eve of being overrun and subdued. I had great hopes of holding out for this year, though I seem abandoned by all the earth, had the savages remained firm. I cannot blame these poor people for securing themselves, as they see multitudes of the enemy at hand, and no succour from any part, though it is now four months since their operations against us first began." — *MS. Letter.*

mony among yourselves, to which a due subordination will much contribute; and, wishing you health and success, I remain your very humble servant.*

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Camp at Cambridge, 4 October, 1775.

SIR,

Your favor of the 20th ultimo came safely to hand, and I should have despatched the express much sooner, but Colonel Arnold's expedition is so connected with your operations, that I thought it most proper to detain him, until I could give you the fullest account of his progress. This morning the express, whom I sent to him, returned, and one of the enclosures is a copy of his letter to me, and another a copy of a paper forwarded to me, being the report of a reconnoitring party sent out some time ago.†

You will certainly hear from him soon, as I have given him the strongest injunctions on this head. I send you a copy of his instructions, and a Manifesto, of which I have furnished him a number to disperse throughout Canada. He is supplied with one thousand

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* The rifle companies were raised by an express order of the Continental Congress, and on this ground the captains had an impression, that they were not to be commanded by officers in the provincial ranks.

† This party consisted of two persons, named Getchell and Berry, who set off from Fort Western, on the Kennebec, September 1st. They advanced as far as the head-waters of the Dead River, where they met several Indians, who gave them such exaggerated accounts of the enemy on the Chaudière, that they did not venture to proceed farther. Natanis, the last of the Norridgewocks, had a cabin in this quarter, and was in the interest of Governor Carleton. The intelligence brought back by these persons, in regard to the carrying-places and condition of the river, was of some service to Arnold.

pounds lawful money in specie, to answer his contingent charges.

About eight days ago a brig from Quebec to Boston was taken and brought into Cape Ann. By some intercepted letters from Captain Gamble to General Gage and Major Sheriff, the account of the temper of the Canadians in the American cause is fully confirmed. The Captain says, that if Quebec should be attacked before Carleton can throw himself into it, there will be a surrender without firing a shot. We most anxiously hope you will find sufficient employ for Carleton at St. John's and its neighbourhood.

We at last have the echo of Bunker's Hill from England. The number of killed and wounded by General Gage's account nearly corresponds with what we had ascertained. There does not seem the least probability of a change of measures or of ministers. General Gage is recalled from Boston, and sails to-morrow; he is succeeded by General Howe. We have had no material occurrences since I had the pleasure of writing to you last. Our principal employment now is preparing for the winter, as there seems to be no probability of an accommodation, or any such decision as to make the present army less necessary.*

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* Lord Dartmouth had early suggested to General Gage the importance of taking possession of Rhode Island, as a means of keeping up a communication between Boston and New York, and as a place easy to be defended, and one from which, in any exigency, succours might be derived. He had, also, expressed an opinion, that New York should be occupied. General Gage replied;—"As the King's forces are too weak to act in more than one point, New York is the most eligible situation to hold. The friends of government could rally there, and, from every account, numbers would join them. That city could be easily defended, and supplied by a water communication. But there is much difficulty in leaving Boston. It requires secrecy and is of great detail. It is too important a step to be put in execution without knowing his Majesty's pleasure. Preparations will however be made for it, not knowing but instructions to

I also send you a copy of a letter written to Colonel Arnold to be communicated to the officers and soldiers. The information we have of your health gives us great concern, not only on your own account, but on that of the public service, which must suffer in consequence. I shall most sincerely rejoice to hear of your perfect recovery; and now, most fervently wishing you all possible success, honor, and safety, I am, dear Sir, &c.

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this effect may be given, in consequence of intimations in a former letter from me."—*MS. Letter, August 20th.*

Lord Dartmouth wrote again on the 5th of September, before he could have received the above letter, and recommended to General Gage to abandon Boston, dismantle Castle William, and repair with the troops either to New York, or some other port to the southward, where the ships could lie in safety, and carry on operations securely during the winter. Many advantages, he thought, would result from such a change. This was answered by General Howe with arguments similar to those already advanced by General Gage, and his reasons for not complying with the recommendation of the minister were approved.

Another plan in agitation was to divide the forces, and endeavour to hold New York and Boston at the same time. General Howe discouraged this scheme, as in his opinion impracticable; and he said that Gage, Clinton, and Burgoyne agreed with him. Such a movement would require an additional force of not less than five thousand men to be left in Boston, and twelve thousand at New York, the latter to be employed in opening a communication with Canada, leaving five battalions for the defence of New York. Three thousand regulars would then remain for Quebec, who, with three or four thousand Canadians, and some hundreds of Indians, would compose the army of Canada; but he could not say whether such a force would be sufficient in that quarter. The primary object of a communication with Canada by the Hudson being thus accomplished, and secured by posts, troops might take separate routes into Massachusetts and other parts of New England, as circumstances should point out.

It was the opinion of General Howe, at the same time, that Boston should be evacuated, and the force designed for that place removed to Rhode Island. The project of penetrating the country could more easily be executed from that point than from Boston, where little else could be done than to defend the post. The possession of Rhode Island would, moreover, put Connecticut in jeopardy, and induce that colony to keep its army at home for self-defence. Boston harbour might be blockaded after the evacuation by a small naval force, aided by a land party intrenched in the neighbourhood of Nantasket Road.—*MS. Letter to Lord Dartmouth, October 9th.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 5 October, 1775.

SIR,

I was honored with your favor of the 26th ultimo, late the night before last; and a meeting of the general officers having been called upon a business, which will make a considerable part of this letter, I took the opportunity of laying before them those parts of yours, which respect the continuance and new-modelling of the army, the fuel, clothing, and other preparations for the ensuing winter. They have taken two or three days to consider; and, as soon as I am possessed of their opinions, I shall lose no time in transmitting the result, not only on the above subjects, but the number of troops necessary to be kept up.

I have also directed the commissary-general and the quartermaster-general to prepare estimates of the expense of their departments for a certain given number of men, from which a judgment may be made, when the number of men to be kept in pay is determined; all which I shall do myself the honor to lay before the Congress, as soon as they are ready.

I have now a painful though a necessary duty to perform, respecting Dr. Church, director-general of the hospital. About a week ago, Mr. Secretary Ward of Providence sent up to me one Wainwood, an inhabitant of Newport, with a letter directed to Major Cane in Boston, in characters; which he said had been left with Wainwood some time ago, by a woman who was kept by Dr. Church. She had before pressed Wainwood to take her to Captain Wallace,* Mr. Dudley the collector, or George Rome, which he declined. She then gave him a letter, with a strict charge to deliver it to either

* Commander of his Majesty's ship Rose, at Newport.

of those gentlemen. He, suspecting some improper correspondence, kept the letter, and after some time opened it; but, not being able to read it, laid it up, where it remained until he received an obscure letter from the woman, expressing an anxiety after the original letter. He then communicated the whole matter to Mr. Ward, who sent him up with the papers to me. I immediately secured the woman; but for a long time she was proof against every threat and persuasion to discover the author. However, at length she was brought to a confession, and named Dr. Church. I then immediately secured him and all his papers. Upon his first examination, he readily acknowledged the letter, said it was designed for his brother Fleming, and, when deciphered, would be found to contain nothing criminal. He acknowledged his never having communicated the correspondence to any person here but the girl, and made many protestations of the purity of his intentions. Having found a person capable of deciphering the letter, I in the mean time had all his papers searched, but found nothing criminal among them. But it appeared, on inquiry, that a confidant had been among the papers before my messenger arrived. I then called the general officers together for their advice, the result of which you will find enclosed. The deciphered letter is also enclosed. The army and country are exceedingly irritated; and, upon a free discussion of the nature, circumstances, and consequence of this matter, it has been unanimously agreed to lay it before the honorable Congress for their special advice and direction; at the same time suggesting to their consideration, whether an alteration of the twenty-eighth article of war may not be necessary.*

* See APPENDIX, No. VIII. — By the twenty-eighth article of war, whoever was convicted of holding correspondence with the enemy, or of

As I shall reserve all farther remarks upon the state of the army till my next, I shall now beg leave to request the determination of Congress, as to the property and disposal of such vessels and cargoes, as are designed for the supply of the enemy, and may fall into our hands. There has been an event of this kind at Portsmouth, in which I have directed the cargo to be brought hither for the use of the army, reserving the settlement of any claims of capture to the decision of Congress.

As there are many unfortunate individuals, whose property has been confiscated by the enemy, I would humbly suggest to the consideration of Congress the humanity of applying, in part or in the whole, such captures to the relief of those sufferers, after compensating the captors for any expense, and for their activity and spirit. I am the more induced to request, that this determination may be speedy, as I have directed three vessels to be equipped in order to cut off the supplies; and, from the number of vessels hourly arriving, it may become an object of some importance. In the disposal of these captures, for the encouragement of the officers and men, I have allowed them one third of the cargoes, except military stores, which, with the vessels, are to be reserved for the public use. I hope my plan, as well as the execution, will be favored with the approbation of Congress.

One Mr. Fisk, an intelligent person, came out of Boston on the 3d instant, and gives us the following advices; that a fleet, consisting of a sixty-four, and a twenty-gun ship, two sloops of eighteen guns, and two transports with six hundred men, were to sail from Boston yesterday; that they took on board two mor-

giving intelligence, was to suffer such punishment as should be ordered by a general court-martial. There was no provision for referring such cases to Congress, or other civil authorities.

tars, four howitzers, and other artillery calculated for the bombardment of a town; their destination was kept a profound secret; that an express sloop of war, which left England the 8th of August, arrived four days ago; that General Gage is recalled, and last Sunday resigned his command to General Howe; that Lord Percy, Colonel Smith, and other officers, who were at Lexington, are ordered home with Gage; that six ships of the line and two cutters were coming out under Sir Peter Dennis; that five regiments and a thousand marines are ordered out, and may be expected in three or four weeks; no prospect of an accommodation, but the ministry determined to push the war to the utmost.*

I have an express from Colonel Arnold, and herewith send a copy of his letter and an enclosure. I am happy in finding he meets with no discouragement. The claim of the rifle officers to be independent of all the superior officers, except Colonel Arnold, is without any countenance or authority from me, as I have signified in my last despatch, both to Colonel Arnold and Captain Morgan. The captain of the brig from Quebec for Boston informs me, that there is no suspicion of any such expedition; and that, if Carleton is not driven from St. John's, so as to be obliged to throw himself into Quebec, it must fall into our hands, as it is left without a regular soldier, and many of the inhabitants are most favorably disposed to the American cause; and that there is the largest stock of ammunition ever collected in America.

In the above vessel some letters were also found, from an officer at Quebec to General Gage and Major Sheriff at Boston, containing such an account of the

* General Howe took command of the army in Boston on the 1st of October, and General Gage sailed within a week afterwards for England. — See APPENDIX, No. IX.

temper of the Canadians, as cannot but afford the highest satisfaction. I have thought it best to forward them. I am, with the greatest respect, &c.*

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Camp at Cambridge, 5 October, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you yesterday, since which I have been informed, that your illness has obliged you to quit the army, and General Wooster as the eldest Brigadier will take rank and command of Mr. Montgomery. General Wooster, I am informed, is not of such activity as to press through difficulties, with which that service is environed. I am therefore much alarmed for Arnold, whose expedition was built upon yours, and who will infallibly perish, if the invasion and entry into Canada are abandoned by your successor.†

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* General Gage wrote to Lord Dartmouth, on the 20th of August, that General Carleton did not find the Canadians so ready for war as he had hoped, and that some of the Indian tribes were backward. He said the minds of the Canadians had been poisoned by the enemy, but that a good force there would set them all in motion. He advised, that General Carleton should be reinforced with four thousand men, a supply of arms, military stores, and Indian goods. — *MS. Letter.*

† General Wooster was now advanced in life. He had served in the two preceding wars, having been present at the capture of Louisburg in 1745, and commanded a Connecticut regiment nearly the whole of the last French war. When the Connecticut troops were raised, in 1775, he was appointed to the command of the whole. The continental appointment, therefore, by which he was placed the third on the list of brigadiers, and Putnam raised over him to the rank of major-general, was by no means satisfactory. Yet he accepted the commission in a spirit, which reflected much credit upon his character.

When he went to the northward, General Washington had the impression, that he would assume the command in Canada, as higher in rank than Montgomery. But the fact was, he stood one degree lower, so that this difficulty was obviated. To prevent all chance of dispute, General Schuyler resolved to keep Wooster at Ticonderoga, and send forward his regi-

I hope by this time the penetration into Canada by your army is effected; but if it is not, and there are any intentions to lay it aside, I beg it may be done in such a manner, that Arnold may be saved by giving him notice, and in the mean time your army may keep up such appearances as to fix Carleton, and prevent the force of Canada being turned wholly upon Arnold. He expected to be at Quebec in twenty days from the 26th of September, so that I hope you will have no difficulty in regulating your motions with respect to him. Should this find you at Albany, and General Wooster about taking the command, I intreat you to impress him strongly with the importance and necessity of proceeding, or so to conduct, that Arnold may have time to retreat.

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ment. But the officers and men, who sympathized with their commander in his complaint of injustice, would not go without him. They had already refused to sign the articles of war, sent out by the Continental Congress, and their general was obliged to govern them by the military laws of Connecticut. This aspect of things gave some concern to General Schuyler, when the regiment arrived at Ticonderoga, and he wrote to General Wooster requesting to know precisely on what ground he considered himself to stand. The reply was that of an honorable and generous soldier, as well as a true patriot.

"My appointment in the Continental Army," said General Wooster, "you are sensible could not be very agreeable to me; notwithstanding which, I never should have continued in the service, had I not determined to observe the rules of the army. No, Sir; I have the cause of my country too much at heart, to attempt to make any difficulty or uneasiness in the army, upon whom the success of an enterprise of almost infinite importance to the country is now depending. I shall consider my rank in the army what my commission from the Continental Congress makes it, and shall not attempt to dispute the command with General Montgomery at St. John's. You may depend, Sir, that I shall exert myself as much as possible to promote the strictest union and harmony among both officers and soldiers, and use every means in my power to give success to the expedition."

He went forward with his regiment into Canada, put himself under General Montgomery, and verified this declaration by his conduct, which was not marked, however, with much enterprise or efficiency.

Nothing new has occurred since yesterday deserving your notice. Our next accounts of your health I hope will be more favorable. Ten thousand good wishes attend you from this quarter; none more sincere and fervent than those of, dear Sir, your most obedient, &c.

TO ROBERT CARTER NICHOLAS, VIRGINIA.

Camp at Cambridge, 5 October, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 8th ultimo came to my hands on the 2d instant by Mr. Byrd. I return you my sincere thanks for your kind congratulation on my appointment to the honorable and important post I now hold, by the suffrages of this great continent. My heart will ever bear testimony of my gratitude for the distinguished mark of honor, which has been conferred on me by this appointment; as it also will of my wishes, that so important a trust had been placed in the hands of a person of greater experience and abilities than mine. I feel the weight of my charge too sensibly not to make this declaration. At the same time, I must add, that I do not wish to withdraw any services, within the compass of my power, from the cause we are nobly engaged in.

Mr. Byrd shall not want for his pay, whilst he is in this camp; although, as I have no cash of my own here, and charge the public with my expenses only, I shall be a little at a loss to know in what manner to advance it with propriety. Bills of exchange would answer no end here, as we have not the means of negotiating them; but, if you would place the money in the hands of Messrs. Willing and Morris of Philadelphia, either in specie, continental, Maryland, or Pennsylvania paper,

they could easily remit or draw for it. But, at any rate, make yourself easy, as Mr. Byrd shall not want the amount of his pay.

The enemy in Boston and on the heights at Charlestown (two peninsulas surrounded in a manner by ships of war and floating batteries) are so strongly fortified, as to render it almost impossible to force their lines, thrown up at the head of each neck. Without great slaughter on our side, or cowardice on theirs, it is absolutely so. We therefore can do no more, than keep them besieged, which they are, to all intents and purposes, as closely as any troops on earth can be, who have an opening to the sea. Our advanced works and theirs are within musket-shot. We daily undergo a cannonade, which has done no injury to our works, and very little hurt to our men. These insults we are compelled to submit to for want of powder, being obliged, except now and then giving them a shot, to reserve what we have for closer work than cannon-distance.

My respectful compliments to Mrs. Nicholas and the rest of your fireside, and to any inquiring friends. With grateful thanks for the prayers and good wishes you are pleased to offer on my account, I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 12 October, 1775.

SIR,

I am honored with your several favors of the 26th and 30th of September, and 5th of October, the contents of which I shall beg leave to notice in their respective order.

Previous to the direction of Congress to consult the

general officers on the best mode of continuing and providing for the army during the winter, I had desired them to turn their thoughts upon these subjects, and to favor me with the result, by a particular day, in writing. In this interval, the appointment of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, and Colonel Harrison, was communicated, an event which has given me the highest satisfaction, as the subject was too weighty and complex for a discussion by letter. This appointment made any conclusion here unnecessary, as it is not probable any such arrangement would be agreed on, as would not be altered in some respects, upon a full and free conference. This good effect will arise from the step already taken, that every officer will be prepared to give his sentiments upon these important subjects.*

* By the resolution of Congress appointing the committee, they were to confer with General Washington, and the respective governments of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, on the most effectual method of continuing, supporting, and regulating a Continental army. The committee were likewise furnished with detailed instructions.

The members of the committee, and delegates from the four colonies above mentioned, met in convention at Cambridge on the 18th of October, and continued their sittings daily till the 22d. The persons present, besides the committee, were Griswold and Wales from Connecticut; Governor Cooke from Rhode Island; Bowdoin, Otis, Sever, and Spooner from Massachusetts; Matthew Thornton from New Hampshire. General Washington was president of the board.

In a council of war, which had been assembled but a short time before, several of the points, put in charge of the committee by Congress, had been considered, and the opinions of the officers upon them expressed. These were generally confirmed and adopted by the delegates in conference. The mode of raising, arranging, clothing, and supplying a new army was determined. While the enemy remained in the same strength at Boston, it was unanimously agreed, that the American army ought not to consist of less than twenty thousand three hundred and seventy-two men, making twenty-six regiments, exclusive of riflemen and artillery, each regiment to be divided into eight companies. Efforts were to be made to reënlist as many soldiers as possible among those already on the ground, and the vacancies were to be filled up by new levies. The delegates of the four colonies were respectively of opinion, that twenty thou-

The estimates of the commissary and quartermaster general I have now the honor of enclosing.

With respect to the reduction of the pay of the men, which may enter into the consideration of their support, it is the unanimous opinion of the general officers, that it cannot be touched with safety at present.

Before I was honored with your favor of the 5th instant, I had given orders for the equipment of some armed vessels, to intercept the enemy's supplies of provisions and ammunition. One of them was on a cruise between Cape Ann and Cape Cod, when the express arrived. The others will be fit for the sea in a few days, under the command of officers of the Continental army, who are well recommended, as persons acquainted with the sea, and capable of such a service. Two of these will be immediately despatched on this duty, and every particular, mentioned in your favor of the 5th instant, literally complied with.*

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sand men might be raised in Massachusetts, eight thousand in Connecticut, three thousand in New Hampshire, and fifteen hundred in Rhode Island, if the pay remained the same as heretofore, and the time of service one year. — *Minutes of the Conference.*

After settling what pertained to the army, the conference broke up, but the committee from Congress remained two or three days longer, and took many other topics into consideration, which had been suggested in General Washington's letters to Congress. The articles of war were revised, and changes recommended to Congress. Regulations for disposing of prizes and provisions captured at sea, exchange of prisoners, employment of Indians, local details in regard to the army, and many other particulars, were discussed, and certain definite principles or rules established. The conference was of great moment to General Washington, since the committee and the delegates from the colonies would be bound to sustain the measures there agreed upon. The affairs of the army were brought into a more systematic train, and the Commander-in-chief could act with more precision and confidence. The doings of the committee were confirmed by Congress, in a series of resolves after their return.

* In the letter here mentioned, President Hancock had written, that intelligence had just been received by Congress of the sailing of two brigantines from England on the 11th of August, bound for Quebec, laden with powder and other stores, without convoy and of no force. Further-

That the honorable Congress may have a more complete idea of the plan on which these vessels are equipped, I enclose a copy of the instructions given to the captains now out. These, with the additional instructions directed, will be given to the captains, who go into the mouth of St. Lawrence's River. As both officers and men most cheerfully engage in the service, on the terms mentioned in these instructions, I fear that the proposed increase will create some difficulty, by making a difference among men engaged on similar service. I have therefore not yet communicated this part of the plan, but reserved an extra bounty as a reward for extraordinary activity. There are no armed vessels in this province; and Governor Cooke informs me, that the enterprise can receive no assistance from him, as one of the armed vessels of Rhode Island is on a long cruise, and the other unfit for the service. Nothing shall be omitted to secure success. A fortunate capture of an ordnance ship would give new life to the camp, and an immediate turn to the issue of this campaign.*

Our last accounts from Colonel Arnold are very favorable. He was proceeding with all expedition; and I flatter myself, making all allowances, that he will be at Quebec the 20th instant, where a gentleman from Canada, Mr. Price, assures me he will meet with no resistance.† From the various accounts received from Europe,

more the letter conveyed the instructions of Congress to Washington, that he should with all possible despatch fit out two armed vessels, at the Continental expense, to sail for the St. Lawrence, with the view of intercepting these brigantines. He was directed to procure the vessels from the government of Massachusetts; but, as there were no armed vessels belonging to that province, he equipped and sent off two of those, which were already employed in the public service.

* See APPENDIX, No. X.

† Mr. Price was a merchant of Montreal. When that place capitulated to General Montgomery, he wrote;—"I have found Mr. Price so active

there may be reason to expect troops will be landed at New York, or some other middle colony. I should be glad to know the pleasure of the Congress, whether, upon such an event, it would be expected that a part of this army should be detached, or the internal force of such colony and its neighbourhood be deemed sufficient; or whether, in such case, I am to wait the particular direction of Congress.

The fleet, mentioned in my last, has been seen standing to the north-east; so that we apprehend it is intended for some part of this province, or New Hampshire, or possibly Quebec.

The latest and best accounts we have from the enemy are, that they are engaged in their new work across the south end of Boston, and preparing their barracks for winter; that it is proposed to keep from five hundred to a thousand men on Bunker's Hill all winter, who are to be relieved once a week; the rest to be drawn into Boston. A person, who has lately been a servant to Major Connolly, a tool of Lord Dunmore's, has given an account of a scheme to distress the southern provinces, which appeared to me of sufficient consequence to be immediately transmitted. I have therefore got it attested, and do myself the honor of enclosing it.

The new levies from Connecticut have lately marched into camp, and are a body of as good troops as any we have; so that we have now the same strength, as before the detachment made under Colonel Arnold. I am, &c.

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and intelligent, and so warm a friend to the measures adopted by Congress, that I wish to have him mentioned in the strongest terms to Congress." He was appointed deputy commissary-general of the army in Canada the spring following.

TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

Camp at Cambridge, 13 October, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,

Your favor of the 12th ultimo came to hand a few days ago. By it I gladly learned, that your family were recovered of the two complaints, which had seized many of them and confined my sister. I am very glad to hear, also, that the Convention had come to resolutions of arming the people, and preparing vigorously for the defence of the colony; which, by the latest accounts from England, will prove a salutary measure. I am also pleased to find, that the manufacture of arms and ammunition has been attended to with so much care. A plenty of these, and unanimity and fortitude among ourselves, must defeat every attempt, that the ministry can invent to enslave this great continent. In the manufacturing of arms for public use, great care should be taken to make the bores of the same size, that the same balls may answer, otherwise great disadvantages may arise from a mixture of cartridges.

The enemy, by their not coming out, are, I suppose, afraid of us; whilst their situation renders any attempts of ours upon them in a manner impracticable.* Noth-

* On the 18th of October, the officers were convened a second time to hold a council respecting an attack on Boston. There was a unanimous voice against it.

It is a little remarkable, that each party had conclusive reasons for avoiding to attack the other. "It is inadvisable," said General Gage in a letter to Lord Dartmouth, "to attempt penetrating the country from Boston. The enemy's forces are numerous, and such an attempt must be made under very great disadvantages; and even if successful, little would be gained by it, as neither horses, carriages, nor other means for moving forward could be procured. Our force is too small to be divided into detachments for this purpose, and success would answer no other end than to drive the rebels out of one strong-hold into another."—*MS. Letter, August 20th.* General Howe used the same arguments on the 9th of October.

ing new has happened, since my last, worth communicating. Since finishing our own lines of defence, we, as well as the enemy, have been busily employed in putting our men under proper cover for the winter. Our advanced works, and theirs, are within musket-shot of each other. We are obliged to submit to an almost daily cannonade without returning a shot, from our scarcity of powder, which we are necessitated to keep for closer work than cannon-distance, whenever the red-coat gentry please to step out of their intrenchments. Seeing no prospect of this, I sent a detachment, about a month ago, into Canada, by the way of Kennebec River, under the command of a Colonel Arnold. This detachment consisted of one thousand men, and was ordered to take possession of Quebec if possible; but, at any rate, to make a diversion in favor of General Schuyler, who by this time is in possession, I trust, of Montreal and St. John's, as I am not altogether without hopes that Colonel Arnold may be of the capital. Finding that we were in no danger of a visit from our neighbours, I have fitted out and am fitting out several privateers with soldiers, who have been bred to the sea, and I have no doubt of making captures of several of their transports, some of which have already fallen into our hands, laden with provisions.

I am obliged to you for your advice to my wife, and for your intention of visiting her. Seeing no great prospect of returning to my family and friends this winter, I have sent an invitation to Mrs. Washington to come to me, although I fear the season is too far advanced to admit this with any tolerable degree of convenience, especially if she should, when my letters get home, be in New Kent, as I believe the case will be. I have laid before her a state of the difficulties, however, which must attend the journey, and left it to her own choice.

My love to my sister and the little ones is sincerely tendered, and I am, with true regard, your most affectionate brother.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 24 October, 1775.

SIR,

My conjecture of the destination of the late squadron from Boston, in my last, has been unhappily verified by an outrage, exceeding in barbarity and cruelty every hostile act practised among civilized nations. I have enclosed the account given me by Mr. Jones, a gentleman of the town of Falmouth, of the destruction of that increasing and flourishing village. He is a very great sufferer, and informs me that the time allowed for the removal of effects was so small, that valuable property of all kinds, and to a great amount, has been destroyed. The orders shown by the captain for this horrid procedure, by which it appears the same desolation is meditated upon all the towns on the coast, made it my duty to communicate it as quickly and extensively as possible. As Portsmouth was the next place to which he proposed to go, General Sullivan was permitted to go up, and give them his assistance and advice to ward off the blow. I flatter myself the like event will not happen there, as they have a fortification of some strength, and a vessel has arrived at a place called Sheepscot, with fifteen hundred pounds of powder.

The gentlemen of the Congress have nearly finished their business; but, as they write by this opportunity, I must beg leave to refer you to their letter, for what concerns their commission.

We have had no occurrence of any consequence in the camp, since I had the honor of addressing you last; but expect every hour to hear that Newport has shared the fate of unhappy Falmouth.*

I have the honor to be, &c.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF FALMOUTH, CASCO BAY.

Camp at Cambridge, 24 October, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

The desolation and misery, which ministerial vengeance had planned,† in contempt of every principle of humanity, and so lately brought on the town of Falmouth, I know not how sufficiently to commiserate. Nor can my compassion for the general suffering be conceived beyond the true measure of my feelings. But my readiness to relieve you, by complying with your request, signified in your favor of the 21st instant, is circumscribed by my inability. The immediate necessities of the army under my command require all the powder and ball, that can be collected with the utmost industry and trouble. The authority of my station does not extend so far, as to empower me to send a detachment of men down to your assistance. Thus circumstanced, I can only add my wishes and exhortations, that you may repel every future attempt to perpetrate the like savage cruelties.

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* A detailed account of the burning of Falmouth by Lieutenant Mowat, may be found in *Williamson's History of Maine*, Vol. II. pp. 422, 434. — See APPENDIX, No. XI.

† This expression was founded on Mowat's declaration to the Committee of Falmouth, that orders had been given for burning seaport towns. That the declaration was not true, in regard to the ministry, is shown in the Appendix. The public at that day was much deceived on this subject, and historians have perpetuated the error.

I have given liberty to several officers in Colonel Phinny's regiment to visit their connexions, who may now stand in need of their presence and assistance, by reason of this new exertion of despotic barbarity. I am, Gentlemen, &c.

TO MAJOR CHRISTOPHER FRENCH.*

Head-Quarters, Cambridge, 25 October, 1775.

SIR,

I now sit down to give a final answer to your application respecting your sword. Dr. Franklin confirms, what I before mentioned, that the privilege claimed was no part of the stipulation made at Philadelphia, as it was not discussed.

Having made inquiry, I find the rule with regard to the indulgence in question is, that prisoners do not wear their swords. I therefore cannot approve of it, more especially as it gives such general dissatisfaction to the good people of the country.

To your other request of removing to some place, where you can have the benefit of attending public worship in the church of England, I have not the least objection, provided the place is approved by Governor Trumbull, to whom, in this case, you will be pleased to apply. I wish you all the happiness consistent with your situation; and while the inhabitants of America treat you with humanity and kindness, I trust you will make a suitable return. It is not grateful to me to hear the respectable citizens of any town treated with incivility or contempt. I am, Sir, your very humble servant.

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* A prisoner at Hartford, in Connecticut, to which place he had been sent from Philadelphia.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Camp at Cambridge, 26 October, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your several favors of the 12th and 14th instant came safe to hand, though not in the proper order of time, with their several enclosures. You do me justice in believing, that I feel the utmost anxiety for your situation, that I sympathize with you in all your distresses, and shall most heartily share in the joy of your success.* My anxiety extends itself to poor Arnold, whose fate depends upon the issue of your campaign. Besides your other difficulties, I fear you have those of the season added, which will increase every day. In the article of powder, we are in danger of suffering equally with you. Our distresses on this head are mutual; but I hope they are short-lived, as every measure of relief has been pursued, which human invention could suggest.

When you write to General Montgomery, be pleased to convey my best wishes and regards to him.† It has

* General Schuyler had written from Ticonderoga; — "The vexation of spirit under which I labor, that a barbarous complication of disorders should prevent me from reaping those laurels for which I have unwearied-ly wrought since I was honored with this command; the anxiety I have suffered since my arrival here, lest the army should starve, occasioned by a scandalous want of subordination and inattention to my orders in some of the officers, that I left to command at the different posts; the vast variety of vexations and disagreeable incidents, that almost every hour arise in some department or other; not only retard my cure, but have put me considerably back for some days past. If Job had been a general in my situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience. But the glorious end we have in view, and which I have a confident hope will be attained, will atone for all."

† General Montgomery had likewise met with his full share of troubles. On the 13th of October, while investing the fort at St. John's, he wrote to General Schuyler; —

"I had had a road cut to the intended ground, and some fascines made, when I was informed by Major Brown, that a general dissatisfaction pre-

been equally unfortunate for our country and yourself, that your ill health has deprived the active part of your army of your presence. God Almighty restore you, and crown you with happiness and success.

Colonel Allen's misfortune will, I hope, teach a lesson of prudence and subordination to others, who may be too ambitious to outshine their general officers, and, regardless of order and duty, rush into enterprises, which have unfavorable effects on the public, and are destructive to themselves.*

Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, and Colonel Harrison, delegates from the Congress, have been in the camp for several days, in order to settle the plan for continuing and supporting the army.† This commission extended

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vailed; that unless something was undertaken in a few days, there would be a mutiny; and that the universal sense of the army was to direct all our attention to the east side. The impatience of the troops to get home has prevented their seeing the impossibility of undertaking this business sooner, the duty being hard for the troops in the present confined state of operations.

"When I mentioned my intentions, I did not consider that I was at the head of troops, who carry the spirit of freedom into the field, and think for themselves. Upon considering the fatal consequences, which might flow from a want of subordination and discipline, should this ill-humor continue, my unstable authority over troops of different colonies, the insufficiency of the military law, and my own want of power to enforce it, weak as it is, I thought it expedient to call the field-officers together. Enclosed I send you the result of our deliberations. * * *

"I cannot help observing to how little purpose I am here. Were I not afraid the example would be too generally followed, and that the public service might suffer, I would not stay an hour at the head of troops, whose operations I cannot direct. I must say I have no hope of success, unless from the garrison's wanting provision."

* Ethan Allen crossed the St. Lawrence with a small party below Montreal, where he was defeated and taken prisoner, after maintaining for some time, and with great courage, a very unequal conflict. He was put in irons and sent to Quebec, and thence to England. After being a prisoner for nearly three years, transported from place to place, he was exchanged. He published, in 1779, a *Narrative* of the events of his capture and imprisonment.

† While Dr. Franklin was in camp, he paid over to a committee of the

to your department; but, upon consideration, it appeared so difficult to form any rational plan, that nothing was done in that respect. If your time and health will admit, I should think it highly proper to turn your thoughts to this subject, and communicate the result to the Congress as early as possible. We have had no event of any consequence in our camp for some time, our whole attention being taken up with preparations for the winter, and forming the new army, in which many difficulties occur. The enemy expect a considerable reinforcement this winter, and from all accounts are garrisoning Gibraltar and other places with foreign troops, in order to bring the former garrison to America. The ministry have begun the destruction of our sea-port towns, by burning a flourishing town of about three hundred houses to the eastward, called Falmouth. This they effected with every circumstance of cruelty and barbarity, which revenge and malice could suggest. We expect every moment to hear other places have been attempted, which are better prepared for their reception.

The more I reflect upon the importance of your expedition, the greater is my concern, lest it should sink under insuperable difficulties. I look upon the interests and salvation of our bleeding country in a great degree as depending upon your success. I know you feel its importance, as connected not only with your own honor and happiness, but the public welfare; so that you can want no incitements to press on, if it be possible. My anxiety suggests some doubts, which your better ac-

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Massachusetts Assembly one hundred pounds sterling, which had been forwarded to him as a charitable donation from persons in England for the relief of those, who had been wounded in the battle of Lexington, and of the widows and children of those, who had been slain. — *Journal of the Assembly, October 25th.*

quaintance with the country will enable you to remove. Would it not have been practicable to pass St. John's, leaving force enough for a blockade; or, if you could not spare the men, passing it wholly, possessing yourselves of Montreal, and the surrounding country? Would not St. John's have fallen of course, or what would have been the probable consequence? Believe me, dear General, I do not mean to imply the smallest doubt of the propriety of your operations, or of those of Mr. Montgomery, for whom I have a great respect. I too well know the absurdity of judging upon a military operation, when you are without the knowledge of its concomitant circumstances. I only mean it as a matter of curiosity, and to suggest to you my imperfect idea on the subject. I am, with the utmost truth and regard, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.

TO GOVERNOR COOKE.

Camp at Cambridge, 29 October, 1775.

SIR,

Your favor of the 25th instant came safely to hand. Captain Whipple's voyage has been unfortunate, but it is not in our power to command success, though it is always our duty to deserve it. I hope he will be more successful in his intended voyage, if it is proposed in consequence of the direction of the Congress. I think it proper you should apprize him, that two schooners have sailed from hence to the mouth of St. Lawrence River upon the same service, commanded by Captain Broughton and Captain Sellman. The signal which they have agreed on to distinguish each other and to be known to their friends, is the ensign up to the main topping-lift. I agree with you, that the attachment of

our Bermudian brethren ought to recommend them to the favorable regards of their friends of America, and I doubt not it will. I shall certainly take a proper opportunity to make their case known to the honorable Continental Congress.

I shall be happy in every opportunity to show the esteem and regard with which I am, your Honor's most obedient and very humble servant.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Camp at Cambridge, 29 October, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

As you will be fully informed of every matter and thing relative to the army, by your own committee, I should not have given you the trouble of a letter at this time, were it not on Colonel Reed's account.* He is, as I presume you may have heard, concerned in many of the principal causes now depending in the courts of Pennsylvania; and should those causes be pressed for trial by his brethren of the profession, it will not only do him a manifest injury in his practice and future prospects, but afford room for complaint of his having neg-

* Colonel Joseph Reed was secretary to General Washington. He left the camp for Philadelphia, on the 30th of October, and was absent till after the removal of the army to New York. During this period a constant and confidential correspondence was kept up between him and the Commander-in-chief. Robert Hanson Harrison, of Alexandria, a lawyer by profession, with whom Washington had been much acquainted, and who had been invited by him to become one of his aids, arrived in Cambridge shortly after the departure of Colonel Reed. He was immediately announced in the public orders as an aid to the Commander-in-chief. He received a colonel's commission, and served as secretary to the General during a large portion of the war. No person possessed the confidence of Washington more entirely than Colonel Harrison, and to few was he indebted for more valuable services.

lected his business as a lawyer. This he thinks may be avoided, if some of you gentlemen of the Congress, in the course of conversation with the chief-justice and others, would represent the disadvantages, which must result to him, in case his causes should be hurried to trial.

That Colonel Reed is clever in his business and useful to me, is too apparent to mention. I should do equal injustice, therefore, to his abilities and merit, were I not to add, that his services here are too important to be lost, and that I could wish to have him considered in this point of view by your honorable body, when occasion shall favor.

I shall take it kind of you to give me, from time to time, such authentic intelligence of the manœuvres of the ministry, as you think may be relied on. We get none but newspaper accounts here, and these very imperfect. I am, with sincere esteem and regard, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and countryman.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 30 October, 1775.

SIR,

The information, which the gentlemen who have lately gone from hence can give the Congress, of the state and situation of the army, would have made a letter unnecessary, if I did not suppose there would be some anxiety to know the intentions of the army on the subject of the reënlistment.

Agreeably to the advice of those gentlemen, and my own opinion, I immediately began by directing all such officers, as proposed to continue, to signify their intentions as soon as possible. A great number of the re-

turns are come in, from which I find, that a very great proportion of the officers of the rank of captain, and under, will retire; from present appearances I may say half; but at least one third. It is with some concern also that I observe, that many of the officers, who retire, discourage the continuance of the men, and, I fear, will communicate the infection to them. Some have advised, that those officers, who decline the service, should be immediately dismissed; but this would be very dangerous and inconvenient. I confess I have great anxieties upon the subject, though I still hope the pay and terms are so advantageous, that interest, and I trust also a regard to their country, will retain a greater proportion of the privates than of their officers. In so important a matter, I shall esteem it my indispensable duty, not only to act with all possible prudence, but to give the most early and constant advice of my progress.

I have the honor to be, &c.

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Camp at Cambridge, 2 November, 1775.

SIR,

I have been honored with your favor of the 30th ultimo by Mr. Trumbull. I sincerely wish this camp could furnish a good engineer. The Commissary-general can inform you how exceedingly deficient the army is of gentlemen skilled in that branch of business, and that most of the works, which have been thrown up for the defence of our several encampments, have been planned by a few of the principal officers of this army, assisted by Mr. Knox, a gentleman of Worcester. Could I afford you the desired assistance in this way, I should do it with pleasure.

Herewith you will receive a copy of the proceedings held with the committee of Congress from Philadelphia. It ought to have been sent sooner, but I am at present without a secretary; Colonel Reed, having a call at home, left this place on Sunday last. I heartily congratulate you on the recovery of the Commissary-general,* whose return, so soon as he can travel with safety, is much wished for. I am, with the greatest esteem and regard, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 2 November, 1775.

SIR,

I could not suffer Mr. Randolph† to quit this camp, without bearing some testimony of my duty to the Congress; although his sudden departure (occasioned by the death of his worthy relative, ‡ whose loss, as a good

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* Mr. Joseph Trumbull, son of the Governor, who had been for some time ill in Connecticut.

† Edmund Randolph, who had served for a short time as an aid to General Washington.

‡ Peyton Randolph, president of the first Continental Congress. He died suddenly at Philadelphia on the 22d of October. A long and intimate friendship had existed between him and Washington. He had lately been absent from Congress to preside in the Virginia Convention, and his last letter to Washington was dated September 6th. It begins with the following paragraph.

"I have it in command to transmit to you the thanks of the Convention of Virginia for your faithful discharge of the important trust reposed in you, as one of their delegates to the Continental Congress. Your appointment to an office of so much consequence to America, and incompatible with your attendance on this duty, was the only reason that could have induced them not to call you to the same service. Your brother delegates were unanimous in their acknowledgments, and you will believe it gives me the greatest satisfaction to convey to you the sentiments of your countrymen, and at the same time to give you every testimony of my approbation and esteem."

Richard Henry Lee wrote to Washington on the 23d of October;—"It

citizen and valuable member of society, is much to be regretted) does not allow me time to be particular.

The enclosed return shows, at one view, what reliance we have upon the officers of this army, and how deficient we are likely to be in subaltern officers. A few days more will enable me to inform the Congress what they have to expect from the soldiery, as I shall issue recruiting-orders for this purpose, so soon as the officers are appointed, which will be done this day, I having sent for the general officers, to consult them in the choice.

I must beg leave to recall the attention of the Congress to the appointment of a brigadier-general, an officer as necessary to a brigade, as a colonel is to a regiment, and one that will be exceedingly wanted in the new arrangement.

The proclamations and association, herewith enclosed, came out of Boston on Monday last.* I thought it my duty to send them to you. Nothing of moment has happened since my last.

With respectful compliments to the members of Congress, I have the honor to be, &c.

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is with infinite concern I inform you, that our good old speaker, Peyton Randolph, went yesterday to dine with Mr. Harry Hill, was taken during dinner with the palsy, and at nine o'clock at night died without a groan. Thus has American liberty lost a powerful advocate, and human nature a sincere friend."

* Proclamations issued by General Howe, on the 28th of October. The first was for prohibiting any person from leaving Boston, in which he says; "I do, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by his Majesty, forbid any person or persons whatever, not belonging to the navy, to pass from hence by water or otherwise, without my order or permission given in writing. Any person or persons detected in the attempt, or who may be taken on sufficient proof thereof, shall be liable to military execution, and those who escape shall be treated as traitors by confiscation of their goods and effects." The second proclamation prohibited any person from carrying more than five pounds in specie away from the city. The association was for embodying the citizens to defend the town. — See *Remembrancer*, Vol. II. p. 191. *Boston Gazette*, November 6th, 1775.

TO JOSIAH QUINCY. *

Cambridge, 4 November, 1775

SIR,

Your favor of the 31st ultimo was presented to me yesterday. I thank you, as I shall do every gentleman, for suggesting any measure, which you conceive to be conducive to the public service; but, in the adoption of a plan, many things are to be considered to decide upon the utility of it. In the one proposed by you, I shall not undertake to determine whether it be good, or whether it be bad; but thus much I can say, that if there is any spot upon the main, which has an equal command of the ship-channel to Boston harbour (and give me leave to add that Point Alderton is not without its advocates), in all other respects it must have infinitely the preference; because the expense of so many batteries as you propose, with the necessary defences to secure the channel, the communication, and a retreat in the *dernier resort* from the east end of Long Island, are capital objections. Not, I confess, of such importance as to weigh against the object in view, if the scheme is practicable. But what signifies Long Island, Point Alderton, and Dorchester, while we are in a manner destitute of cannon, and compelled to keep the little powder we have for the use of the musketry. The knowledge

* Mr. Quincy, father of *Josiah Quincy, Junior*, an interesting memoir of whose life has recently been published, resided in Braintree, and had suggested to General Washington a plan for blocking up Boston harbour, and taking the whole British army and fleet. Being thoroughly acquainted with the islands in the harbour, and the ship-channels, he conceived it practicable to construct such works at suitable points, as would prevent the egress of the shipping. He communicated his scheme to Dr. Franklin, who paid him a visit while attending the committee of conference at camp, and by whose advice he wrote at large on the subject to Washington. Want of cannon and powder was an insuperable objection to making the attempt, however feasible in itself.

of this fact is an unanswerable argument against every place, and may serve to account for my not having viewed the several spots, which have been so advantageously spoken of. I am not without intentions of making them a visit, and shall assuredly do myself the honor of calling upon you. In the mean while, permit me to thank you most cordially for your polite invitation, and to assure you that I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

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Cambridge, 5 November, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 26th ultimo with the enclosures, containing an account of the surrender of Fort Chamblee, was an excellent repast, but somewhat incomplete for want of Montgomery's letter, a copy of which you omitted to enclose. On the success of your enterprise so far, I congratulate you, as the acquisition of Canada is of immeasurable importance to the cause we are engaged in. No account of Arnold since my last. I am exceedingly anxious to hear from him, but flatter myself, that all goes well with him, as he was expressly ordered, in case of any discouraging event, to advertise me of it immediately.*

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* The situation of affairs in Canada at this time may be understood by the following extract from a letter, dated at Montreal, October 19th, and written by Brook Watson, an eminent merchant of that city, to Governor Franklin of New Jersey. The letter was intercepted by General Montgomery, and forwarded by him to General Schuyler.

"Such is the wretched state of this unhappy province," says the writer, "that Colonel Allen, with a few despicable wretches, would have taken this city on the 25th ultimo, had not its inhabitants marched out to give them battle. They fought, conquered, and thereby saved the province for a while. Allen and his banditti were mostly taken prisoners. He is now

I much approve your conduct in regard to Wooster. My fears are at an end, as he acts in a subordinate character. Intimate this to General Montgomery, with my congratulations on his success, and the seasonable supply of powder, and wishes that his next letter may be dated from Montreal. If you carry your arms to Montreal, should not the garrisons of Niagara and Detroit be called upon to surrender, or threatened with the consequences of a refusal? They may indeed destroy their stores, and, if the Indians are aiding, escape to Fort Chartres, but it is not very probable.

The enclosed gazette exhibits sundry specimens of the skill of the new commander in issuing proclamations, and a proof, in the destruction of Falmouth, of the barbarous designs of the ministry. Nothing new has happened in this camp. Finding the ministerial troops resolved to keep themselves close within their lines, and that it was judged impracticable to get at them, I have fitted out six armed vessels, with the design to pick up some of their store-ships and transports. The rest of our men are busily employed in erecting barracks. I hope, as you have said nothing of the state of your health, that it is much amended, and that the cold weather will restore it perfectly. That it may do so, and that you may enjoy the fruit of your summer's labor and fatigue, is the sincere wish, dear Sir, of yours, &c.

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in chains on board the Gaspee. This little action has changed the face of things. The Canadians before were nine tenths for the Bostonians. They are now returned to their duty; many in arms for the King and the parishes, who had been otherwise, and daily demanding their pardon and taking arms for the crown."

This Mr. Watson went over to England in the same vessel, in which Allen and his associates were transported as prisoners and in irons. Allen's wrists and ankles were heavily manacled. In his *Narrative* he speaks of having received much ill treatment from Watson during the voyage. Watson was afterwards Lord Mayor of London.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF FALMOUTH.

Cambridge, 6 November, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

I received your favor of the 2d instant, and am very sorry it is not in my power to supply the necessities of the town of Falmouth. I have referred the gentlemen, who brought me your letter, to the General Court of this province, who, I hope, will fall upon some method for your assistance. The arrival of the Cerberus man-of-war is very alarming; I do not apprehend they will attempt to penetrate into the country, as you seem to fear. If they should attempt to land any of their men, I would have the good people of the country, by all means, make every opposition in their power; for it will be much easier to prevent their making a logdment, than to force them from it, when they have got possession.

I write by this conveyance to Colonel Phinny, who will give you every advice and assistance in his power. I sincerely sympathize with the people in the distress they are driven to; but it is in such times, that they should exert themselves in the noble cause of liberty and their country. I am, &c.*

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* The following curious order claims insertion for its singularity, and as marking a peculiar custom of the New England people of that day.

"*November 5th.*— As the Commander-in-chief has been apprised of a design, formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise, that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense, as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture; at a time when we are soliciting and have really obtained the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brethren embarked in the same cause, the defence of the general liberty of America. At such a juncture and in such circumstances, to be insulting their religion is so monstrous, as not to be suffered or excused; indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN.

Instructions.

SIR,

You are to proceed immediately to Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and complete the works already begun, to secure that and the other towns, at the entrance of Piscataqua River, from any attacks by ships of war. For this purpose, you are to fix fire-ships and fire-rafts in such places, as you find most convenient to prevent the enemy from passing up the river.

As great calamities and distress are brought upon our seaport towns, through the malicious endeavours and false representations of many persons, holding commissions under the crown, who, not content with bringing destruction upon some of our principal towns, are yet using every art that malice can devise to reduce others to the same unhappy state, in hopes by such cruel conduct to please an arbitrary and tyrannical ministry, and to receive from them in return a continuance of such places and pensions, as they now hold at the expense of the blood and treasure of this distressed continent; you are, therefore, immediately upon your arrival in that province, to seize such persons as hold commissions under the crown, and are acting as open and avowed enemies to their country, and hold them as hostages for the security of those towns, which our ministerial enemies threaten to invade. In case any attack should be made upon Portsmouth, or other seaports in that quarter, you are immediately to collect such force as can be raised to repel the invasion, and, at all hazards, to prevent the enemy from landing and taking possession of

these our brethren, as to them we are so much indebted for every late happy success over the common enemy in Canada." — *Orderly Book.*

any posts in that quarter. When you have completed the works at Portsmouth, and secured the passage of the river there, you are to return without delay to the army, unless you find the enemy are about to make an immediate attack upon that or the neighbouring towns.

The above is rather to be considered as matter of advice than orders, as I do not conceive myself authorized to involve the continent in any expense for the defence of Portsmouth, or other place, out of the line of the great American defence, particular colonies being called upon by the Congress to prepare for their own internal security. Given under my hand, this 7th day of November, 1775.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 8 November, 1775.

SIR,

The immediate occasion of my giving the Congress the trouble of a letter at this time is to inform them, that, in consequence of their order signified in your letter of the 20th ultimo, I laid myself under a solemn tie of secrecy to Captain Macpherson, and proceeded to examine his plan for the destruction of the fleet in the harbour of Boston, with all that care and attention, which the importance of it deserved, and my judgment could lead to. But not being happy enough to coincide in opinion with that gentleman, and finding that his scheme would involve greater expense, than, under my doubts of its success, I thought myself justified in giving

* General Sullivan had already been employed several days at Portsmouth in giving directions about fortifying the town and harbour, having been sent there in consequence of the threat of Lieutenant Mowat at Falmouth, that all the towns on the sea-coast to the eastward of Boston would be burned.

into, I prevailed upon him to communicate his plan to three gentlemen of the artillery in this army, well versed in the knowledge and practice of gunnery. By them he has been convinced, that, inasmuch as he set out upon wrong principles, the scheme would prove abortive. Unwilling, however, to relinquish his favorite project of reducing the naval force of Great Britain, he is very desirous of building a number of row-galleys for this purpose. But as the Congress alone are competent to the adoption of this measure, I have advised him (although he offered to go on with the building of them at his own expense, till the Congress should decide) to repair immediately to Philadelphia with his proposals; where, if they should be agreed to, or vessels of superior force, agreeably to the wishes of most others, should be resolved on, he may set instantly about them, with all the materials upon the spot; here, they are to be collected. To him, therefore, I refer for further information on this head.

Our prisoners, by the reduction of Fort Chamblee (on which happy event I most sincerely congratulate the Congress), being considerably augmented, and likely to be increased, I submit it to the wisdom of Congress, whether some convenient inland towns, remote from the post-roads, ought not to be assigned them; the manner of their treatment, and their subsistence defined; and a commissary or agent appointed, to see that justice is done both to them and the public, and proper accounts rendered. Unless a mode of this sort is adopted, I fear there will be sad confusion hereafter, as there are great complaints at present.

I reckoned without my host, when I informed the Congress in my last, that I should in a day or two be able to acquaint them with the disposition of the soldiery towards a new enlistment. I have been in consultation

with the generals of this army ever since Thursday last, endeavouring to establish new corps of officers; but I find so many doubts and difficulties to reconcile, that I cannot say when they are to end, or what may be the consequences; as there appears to be such an unwillingness in the officers of one government to mix in the same regiment with those of another; and, without this, many must be dismissed, who are willing to serve, notwithstanding we are deficient on the whole. I am to have another meeting to-day upon this business, and shall inform you of the result.

The council of officers are unanimously of opinion, that the command of the artillery should no longer continue in Colonel Gridley;* and, knowing of no person better qualified to supply his place, or whose appointment will give more general satisfaction, I have taken the liberty of recommending Henry Knox to the consideration of Congress, thinking it indispensably necessary, at the same time, that this regiment should consist of two

* Colonel Gridley had been appointed by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, April 26th, chief engineer in the army then beginning to be organized, with a salary of one hundred and seventy pounds a year while in service; and after the army should be disbanded, he was to receive annually one hundred and twenty-three pounds for life. — *MS. Journal of Prov. Congress.* — The same provision of a life annuity was extended to the assistant-engineer. On the 20th of September, Colonel Gridley was commissioned to take command of the artillery of the Continental army, but was superseded by Colonel Knox in November. His advanced age was assigned by Congress, as a reason for superseding him. At the battle of Bunker's Hill he fought with conspicuous bravery in the intrenchments, which he had planned under Prescott, and in which he was wounded. Colonel Gridley was a soldier of long experience, having served in the two last wars, and been present at the taking of Louisburg, and in Wolfe's battle on the Plains of Abraham. — Swett's *Hist. of Bunker-Hill Battle*, pp. 11, 44, 54. — Before the Revolution he received half-pay as a British officer. When Colonel Knox was appointed to his place in the artillery, Congress voted to indemnify him for any loss of half-pay, which he might sustain in consequence of having been in the service of the United Colonies.

lieutenant-colonels, two majors, and twelve companies, agreeably to the plan and estimate handed in; concerning which, as it differs from the last establishment, I should be glad to be instructed.

I have heard nothing of Colonel Arnold since the 13th ultimo. His letter of, and journal to, that date, will convey all the information I am able to give of him. I think he must be in Quebec. If any mischance had happened to him, he would, as directed, have forwarded an express. No account yet of the armed vessels sent to the St. Lawrence. I think they will meet the stores inward or outward bound.

Captain Symons, in the Cerberus, lately sent from Boston to Falmouth, has published the enclosed declaration at that place; and it is suspected he intends to make some kind of a lodgment there. I wrote immediately to Colonel Phinny of this army, who went up there upon the last alarm, to spirit up the people and oppose it at all events. Falmouth is about a hundred and thirty miles from this camp. *

I have the honor to be, &c.

P. S. I send a general return of the troops, and manifests of the cargoes and vessels, taken at Plymouth.

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* The town of Falmouth seemed destined to suffer more than the usual calamities of war, as the victim of resentment, or the object of a bitter enmity. It had been burnt to the ground by the commander of one armed ship, and a fortnight afterwards its ashes were insulted by the following menace of another.

"Captain John Symons, commander of his Majesty's ship Cerberus, causeth it to be signified and made known to all persons whatever, in the town of Falmouth as well as the country adjacent; that, if after this public notice, any violences shall be offered to any officers of the crown, or other peaceably disposed subjects of his Majesty; or, if any bodies of men shall be raised and armed in the said town and country adjacent; or any military works erected, otherwise than by order of his Majesty, or those acting under his authority; or if any attempts shall be made to seize or destroy

TO JOSEPH REED, PHILADELPHIA.

Cambridge, 8 November, 1775.

Dear Sir,

The shipwreck of a vessel, said to be from Philadelphia to Boston, near Plymouth, with one hundred and twenty pipes of wine, of which one hundred and eighteen are saved; of another, from Boston to Halifax, near Beverly, with about two hundred and forty pounds' worth of dry goods; the taking of a wood-vessel bound to Boston by Captain Adams; and the sudden departure of Mr. Randolph, occasioned by the death of his uncle, are all the occurrences worth noticing, which have happened since your departure. I have ordered the wine and goods to this place for sale; as also the papers. The latter may unfold secrets, that may not be pleasing to some of your townsmen, and which, so soon as known, will be communicated. I have convinced Captain Macpherson, as he says, of the propriety of returning to the Congress. He sets out this day, and I am happy in his having an opportunity of laying before them a scheme for the destruction of the naval force of Great Britain. A letter and journal of Colonel Arnold's, to the 13th ultimo, are come to hand, a copy of which I enclose to the Congress, and by application to Mr. Thomson you can see it. I think he is in Quebec. If I hear nothing more of him in five days, I shall be sure of it.

I had like to have forgotten what sits heaviest upon my mind, the new arrangement of officers. Although

any public magazines of arms, ammunition, or other stores, it will be indispensably my duty to proceed with the most vigorous efforts against the said town, as in open rebellion against the King; and if after this signification the town shall persist in the rebellious acts above mentioned, they may depend on my proceeding accordingly."

we have now enough to constitute the new corps, it has employed the general officers and myself ever since Thursday last, and we are nearly as we began. Connecticut wants no Massachusetts man in her corps; Massachusetts thinks there is no necessity for a Rhode-Islander to be introduced into hers; and New Hampshire says, it is very hard, that her valuable and experienced officers, who are willing to serve, should be discarded, because her own regiments, under the new establishment, cannot provide for them. In short, after a few days' labor, I expect that numbers of officers, who have given in their names to serve, must be discarded from the Massachusetts corps, where the regiments have been numerous, and the number in them small, and that of Connecticut will be completed with a fresh recruit of officers from her own government. This will be departing, not only from principles of common justice, but from the letter of the resolve agreed on at this place; but, at present, I see no help for it. We are to have another meeting upon the matter this day, when something must be hit upon, as time is slipping off. My compliments to Mrs. Reed and to all inquiring friends. I am, with sincerity and truth, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant.

TO COLONEL WILLIAM WOODFORD.*

Cambridge, 10 November, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 18th of September came to my hands on Wednesday last, through Boston, and open,

* The Virginia Convention had met on the 17th of July, and passed an ordinance for raising two regiments to act in defence of the colony, and two additional companies for protecting the western frontiers. By the

as you may suppose. It might be well to recollect by whom you sent it, in order to discover if there has not been some treachery practised.

I do not mean to flatter, when I assure you, that I highly approve of your appointment. The inexperience you complain of is a common case, and only to be remedied by practice and close attention. The best general advice I can give, and which I am sure you stand in no need of, is to be strict in your discipline; that is, to require nothing unreasonable of your officers and men, but see that whatever is required be punctually complied with. Reward and punish every man according to his merit, without partiality or prejudice; hear his complaints; if well founded, redress them; if otherwise, discourage them, in order to prevent frivolous

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same ordinance the province was divided into sixteen districts, and regulations were adopted for exercising all the militia as minute-men, and preparing for public service at a moment's call. — See Hening's *Stat.* Vol. IX. p. 9. Patrick Henry was appointed colonel of the first regiment, and commander of all the forces to be raised for the defence of the colony. William Woodford was colonel of the second regiment.

The following letter from George Mason to Washington, dated October 14th, is characteristic of the writer, and contains some curious particulars in regard to the doings of the Convention.

"I hinted to you in my last the parties and factions, which prevailed at Richmond. I never was in so disagreeable a situation, and almost despaired of a cause, which I saw so ill conducted. During the first part of the Convention, parties ran so high, that we had frequently no other way of preventing improper measures, than by procrastination, urging the previous question, and giving men time to reflect. However, after some weeks, the babblers were pretty well silenced, a few weighty members began to take the lead, several wholesome regulations were made, and, if the Convention had continued to sit a few days longer, I think the public safety would have been as well provided for, as our present circumstances permit. The Convention, not thinking this a time to rely upon resolves and recommendations only, and to give obligatory force to their proceedings, adopted the style and form of legislation, changing the word *enact* into *ordain*. Their ordinances were all introduced in the form of bills, were regularly referred to a committee of the whole house, and underwent three readings before they were passed.

"I enclose you the ordinance for raising an armed force for the defence

ones. Discourage vice in every shape, and impress upon the mind of every man, from the first to the lowest, the importance of the cause, and what it is they are contending for. For ever keep in view the necessity of guarding against surprises. In all your marches, at times, at least, even when there is no possible danger, move with front, rear, and flank guards, that they may be familiarized to the use; and be regular in your encampments, appointing necessary guards for the security of your camp. In short, whether you expect an enemy or not, this should be practised; otherwise your attempts will be confused and awkward, when necessary. Be plain and precise in your orders, and keep copies of them to refer to, that no mistakes may happen. Be easy and condescending in your deportment to your

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and protection of this colony. It is a little defaced by being handled at our district committee, but it is the only copy I have at present by me. You will find some little inaccuracies in it, but, upon the whole, I hope it will merit your approbation. The minute-plan I think is a wise one, and will in a short time furnish eight thousand good troops, ready for action, and composed of men in whose hands the sword may be safely trusted. To defray the expense of the provisions made by this ordinance, and to pay the charge of the last year's Indian war, we are now emitting the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds in paper currency. I have great apprehensions, that the large sums in bills of credit now issuing all over the continent may have fatal effects in depreciating the value; and, therefore, I opposed any suspension of taxation, and urged the necessity of immediately laying such taxes as the people could bear, to sink the sum emitted as soon as possible; but I was able only to reduce the proposed suspension from three years to one.

"Our friend, the treasurer, was the warmest man in the convention for immediately raising a standing army of not less than four thousand men, upon constant pay. They stood a considerable time at three thousand, exclusive of the troops upon the western frontiers; but, at the last reading, as you will see by the ordinance, they were reduced to one thousand and twenty rank and file. In my opinion, a well judged reduction, not only from our inability to furnish at present such a number with arms and ammunition, but I think it extremely imprudent to exhaust ourselves before we know when we are to be attacked. The part we have to act at present seems to require our laying in good magazines, training our people, and having a good number of them ready for action."

officers, but not too familiar, lest you subject yourself to a want of that respect, which is necessary to support a proper command. These, Sir, not because I think you need the advice, but because you have been condescending enough to ask it, I have presumed to give as the great outlines of your conduct.

As to the manual exercise, the evolutions and manœuvres of a regiment, with other knowledge necessary to the soldier, you will acquire them from those authors, who have treated upon these subjects, among whom Bland (the newest edition) stands foremost; also an Essay on the Art of War; Instructions for Officers, lately published at Philadelphia; the Partisan; Young; and others.

My compliments to Mrs. Woodford; and that every success may attend you, in this glorious struggle, is the sincere and ardent wish of, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 11 November, 1775.

SIR,

Enclosed you have a copy of an act passed this session, by the honorable Council and House of Representatives of this province.* It respects such captures

* This act is remarkable as having been the first, which was passed by any of the colonies, for fitting out vessels of marque and reprisal, and for establishing a court to try and condemn the captured vessels of the enemy. See the Act, and some interesting remarks on the subject, in Austin's *Life of Gerry*, Vol. I. pp. 92, 505.

The following extract from the Orderly Book is indicative of the spirit that prevailed in enlisting the new army.

"*November 12th.* To prevent such contentions, as have arisen from the same person being enlisted by different officers and for different regiments, it is positively ordered, upon pain of being cashiered, that no offi-

as may be made by vessels fitted out by the province, or by individuals thereof. As the armed vessels, fitted out at the Continental expense, do not come under this law, I would have it submitted to the consideration of Congress, to point out a more summary way of proceeding, to determine the property and mode of condemnation of such prizes, as have been or hereafter may be made, than is specified in this act.

Should not a court be established by authority of Congress, to take cognizance of prizes made by the Continental vessels? Whatever the mode is, which they are pleased to adopt, there is an absolute necessity of its being speedily determined on; for I cannot spare time from military affairs, to give proper attention to these matters.

The inhabitants of Plymouth have taken a sloop, laden with provisions, from Halifax, bound to Boston; and the inhabitants of Beverly have, under cover of one of the armed schooners, taken a vessel from Ireland, laden with beef, pork, butter, &c. for the same place. The latter brings papers and letters of a very interesting nature, which are in the hands of the honorable Council, who informed me they will transmit them to you by this conveyance. To the contents of these papers and letters I must beg leave to refer you and the honorable Congress, who will now see the absolute

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cer knowingly presume to enlist any soldier, who has been previously enlisted by another officer. When such a mistake happens undesignedly, the first enlistment is to take place. The officers are to be careful not to enlist any person suspected of being unfriendly to the liberties of America, or any abandoned vagabond to whom all causes and countries are equal and alike indifferent. The rights of mankind and the freedom of America will have numbers sufficient to support them, without resorting to such wretched assistance. Let those, who wish to put shackles upon freemen, fill their ranks with such miscreants, and place their confidence in them. Neither negroes, boys unable to bear arms, nor old men unfit to endure the fatigues of the campaign, are to be enlisted."

necessity of exerting all their wisdom, to withstand the mighty efforts of our enemies.

The trouble I have in the arrangement of the army is really inconceivable. Many of the officers sent in their names to serve, in expectation of promotion; others stood aloof to see what advantage they could make for themselves; whilst a number, who had declined, have again sent in their names to serve. So great has the confusion, arising from these and many other perplexing circumstances, been, that I found it absolutely impossible to fix this very interesting business exactly on the plan resolved on in the conference, though I have kept up to the spirit of it, as near as the nature and necessity of the case would admit. The difficulty with the soldiers is as great, indeed more so, if possible, than with the officers. They will not enlist, until they know their colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and captain; so that it was necessary to fix the officers the first thing; which is, at last, in some manner done; and I have given out enlisting orders.

You, Sir, can much easier judge, than I can express, the anxiety of mind I must labor under on the occasion, especially at this time, when we may expect the enemy will begin to act on the arrival of their reinforcement, part of which is already come, and the remainder daily dropping in.

I have other distresses of a very alarming nature. The arms of our soldiery are so exceedingly bad, that I assure you, Sir, I cannot place a proper confidence in them. Our powder is wasting fast, notwithstanding the strictest care, economy, and attention are paid to it. The long series of wet weather, which we have had, renders the greater part of what has been served out to the men of no use. Yesterday I had a proof of it, as a party of the enemy, about four or five hundred, taking

the advantage of a high tide, landed at Lechmere's Point; we were alarmed, and of course ordered every man to examine his cartouch-box, when the melancholy truth appeared; and we were obliged to furnish the greater part of them with fresh ammunition.

The damage done at the Point was the taking of a man, who watched a few horses and cows; ten of the latter they carried off. Colonel Thompson marched down with his regiment of riflemen, and was joined by Colonel Woodbridge, with a part of his and a part of Patterson's regiment, who gallantly waded through the water, and soon obliged the enemy to embark under cover of a man-of-war, a floating battery, and the fire of a battery on Charlestown Neck. We have two of our men dangerously wounded by grape-shot from the man-of-war; and, by a flag sent out this day, we are informed the enemy lost two of their men.* I have the honor to be, &c.

* In writing to Colonel Reed a few days afterwards, Washington spoke in the following manner of this affair. "The alacrity of the riflemen and officers upon that occasion did them honor, to which Colonel Patterson's regiment and some others were equally entitled, except in a few instances; but the tide, at that time, was so exceedingly high as to compel a large circuit before our men could get to the causeway, by which means the enemy, except a small covering party, distant from the dry land on this side near four hundred yards, had retreated, or were about to embark. All the shot, therefore, that passed were at a great distance; however, the men went to and over the causeway spiritedly enough. This little manœuvre of the enemy is nothing more than a prelude. We have certain advice of a scoundrel from Marblehead, a man of property, having carried to General Howe a true state of the temper and disposition of the troops towards the new enlistment, and given him the strongest assurances of the practicability of making himself master of these lines in a very short time, from the disaffection of the soldiers to the service. I am endeavouring to counteract him; how effectually, time alone can show. I began our bomb-battery at Lechmere's Point last night; the working party came off in the morning without having met with any interruption. The weather favored our operations, the earth being clear of frost. There is not an officer in the army, who does not look for an attack. This has no effect upon the Connecticut regiments; they are resolved to go off."

TO WILLIAM PALFREY, PORTSMOUTH.*

Cambridge, 12 November, 1775.

SIR,

At a time when some of our seaport towns are cruelly laid in ashes, and ruin and devastation denounced against others; when the arms are demanded of the inhabitants, and hostages required, in effect, for the surrender of their liberties; when General Howe by proclamation, under the threat of military execution, has forbidden the inhabitants of Boston to leave the town without his permission first had and obtained in writing; when, by another proclamation, he strictly forbids any persons bringing out of that place more

* William Palfrey was a native of Boston, born in 1741, and educated a merchant under the auspices of John Hancock. Before the revolution he was engaged in mercantile affairs in Boston, and towards the close of the year 1774 he sailed on a voyage to South Carolina, and thence to England, in a vessel belonging to Hancock. From a journal, which he kept during his stay in London, and which I have seen, he appears to have been on terms of intimacy with some of the leaders of the high Whig party, and it is probable, that his visit to the metropolis of Great Britain had a political as well as commercial object. He returned to Massachusetts a few days before General Washington took command of the army, and was immediately employed on business of trust and importance. Assuming a military character, he was for some time aid to General Charles Lee, and afterwards to General Washington, and received a lieutenant-colonel's commission. On the 27th of April, 1776, he was by Congress appointed paymaster-general of the army, a station of great responsibility, which, for more than four years and a half, he filled in such a manner as to give universal satisfaction. During this period he had exhibited such proofs of his talents for business, fidelity, and devotedness to the cause of his country, that, on the 4th of November, 1780, he was elected Consul-General from the United States to France, an office at this time of much consideration, as it involved the duties of making extensive purchases of military and other supplies for the country, and an examination and settlement of all the accounts, in which the United States were concerned with public and private agents in Europe, and which had been multiplying and accumulating since the commencement of the war. He sailed for France, but the vessel in which he took passage was lost at sea, and every one on board was supposed to have perished.

than five pounds sterling of their property in specie, because truly the ministerial army under his command may be injured by it; and when, by a third proclamation, after leaving the inhabitants no alternative, he calls upon them to take arms under officers of his appointing; it is evident, that the most tyrannical and cruel system is adopted for the destruction of the rights and liberties of this continent, that ever disgraced the most despotic ministry, and ought to be opposed by every means in our power. I therefore desire, that you will delay no time in causing the seizure of every officer of government at Portsmouth, who has given proofs of his unfriendly disposition to the cause we are engaged in; and when you have secured all such, take the opinion of the provincial Congress, or Committee of Safety, in what manner to dispose of them in that government.

I do not mean that they should be kept in close confinement. If either of these bodies should incline to send them to any interior towns, upon their parole not to leave them until released, it will meet with my concurrence. For the present I shall avoid giving you the like order in respect to the Tories in Portsmouth; but the day is not far off, when they will meet with this or a worse fate, if there is not a considerable reformation in their conduct. Of this they may be assured from, Sir, your most humble servant.*

* To Governor Trumbull he wrote at the same time; — "As it is now very apparent, that we have nothing to depend on in the present contest, but our own strength, care, firmness, and union; should not the same measures be adopted in your and every other government on the continent? Would it not be prudent to seize on those Tories, who have been, are, and that we know will be, active against us? Why should persons, who are preying upon the vitals of their country, be suffered to stalk at large, whilst we know they will do us every mischief in their power? These, Sir, are points I beg to submit to your serious consideration."

TO HENRY KNOX.

Instructions.

Sir,

You are immediately to examine into the state of the artillery of this army, and take an account of the cannon, mortars, shells, lead, and ammunition, that are wanting. When you have done that, you are to proceed in the most expeditious manner to New York, there to apply to the President of the Provincial Congress, and learn of him, whether Colonel Reed did any thing, or left any orders respecting these articles, and get him to procure such of them as can possibly be had there.

The President, if he can, will have them immediately sent hither; if he cannot, you must put them in a proper channel for being transported to this camp with despatch, before you leave New York. After you have procured as many of these necessaries as you can there, you must go to Major-General Schuyler, and get the remainder from Ticonderoga, Crown Point, or St. John's; if it should be necessary, from Quebec, if in our hands. The want of them is so great, that no trouble or expense must be spared to obtain them. I have written to General Schuyler; he will give every necessary assistance, that they may be had and forwarded to this place with the utmost despatch. I have given you a warrant to the paymaster-general of the Continental army for a thousand dollars, to defray the expense attending your journey and procuring these articles; an account of which you are to keep and render upon your return. Given under my hand at Head-Quarters, Cambridge, this 16th day of November, 1775.*

* The following order is so curious in itself, and so honorable to the persons concerned, that it deserves to be perpetuated. Colonel Whitcomb

TO MAJOR-GENERAL ARTEMAS WARD.

Camp at Cambridge, 17 November, 1775.

SIR,

As the season is fast approaching, when the bay between us and Boston will in all probability be close shut up, thereby rendering any movement upon the ice as easy as if no water was there; and as it is more than probable, that General Howe, when he gets the expected reinforcement, will endeavour to relieve himself from the disgraceful confinement in which the ministerial troops have been all this summer; common prudence dictates the necessity of guarding our camps wherever they are most assailable. For this purpose, I wish you, General Thomas, General Spencer, and

had served in the former war, in which he had borne a part in several engagements, and was a gentleman highly respected. He commanded one of the Massachusetts regiments, but, on account of his advanced age, he was omitted in arranging the new army. The soldiers of his regiment were so much dissatisfied, that they resolved not to enlist under any other officer. He exhorted them not to be influenced by such a motive, in a cause so important; and, to induce them to remain, he proposed to join them in the ranks.

"*November 16th.* Motives of economy rendering it indispensably necessary, that many of the regiments should be reduced, and the whole put upon a different establishment, several deserving officers, not from any demerit, but pure necessity, have been excluded in the new arrangement of the army. Among these was Colonel Whitcomb; but the noble sentiments disclosed by that gentleman upon this occasion, the zeal he has shown in exhorting the men not to abandon the interest of their country at this important crisis, and his determination to continue in the service, even as a private soldier, rather than by a bad example, when the enemy are gathering strength, to put the public affairs to hazard; when an example of this kind is set, it not only entitles a gentleman to particular thanks, but to particular rewards. Colonel Jonathan Brewer is entitled to no small share of credit, in readily giving up to Colonel Whitcomb the regiment, which he was appointed to command. Colonel Whitcomb, therefore, is henceforward to be considered as Colonel of that regiment, which was intended for Colonel Brewer; and Colonel Brewer will be appointed Barrack-Master, until something better worth his acceptance can be provided." — *Orderly Book.*

Colonel Putnam, to meet me at your quarters to-morrow at 10 o'clock, that we may examine the ground between your work at the Mill and Sewall's Point, and direct such batteries, as shall appear necessary for the security of your camp on that side, to be thrown up without loss of time.

I have long had it upon my mind, that a successful attempt might be made by way of surprise on Castle William. From every account, there are not more than three hundred men in that place. The whale-boats, therefore, which you have, and such as could be sent to you, would easily transport eight hundred or one thousand men, who, with a very moderate share of conduct and resolution, might, I should think, bring off the garrison, if not the stores. I wish you to discuss this matter, under the rose, with officers on whose judgmen and spirit you can rely. Something of this sort may show how far the men may be depended upon. I am, with great respect, Sir, your very humble servant. *

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 19 November, 1775.

SIR,

I received your favors of the 7th and 10th instant, with the resolves of the honorable Congress, to which I will pay all due attention. As soon as two capable

* Three companies of Loyalists were embodied in Boston on the 17th of November. The following is an extract from General Howe's *Orderly Book* of that date.

"Many of his Majesty's loyal American subjects in Boston, with their adherents, having offered their service for the defence of the place, the Commander-in-chief has ordered them to be armed, and formed into three companies under the command of the honorable Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles, to be called the '*Loyal American Associators.*' They will be distinguished by a white sash around the left arm."

persons can be found, I will despatch them to Nova Scotia, on the service resolved on by Congress.

The resolve to raise two battalions of marines will, if practicable in this army, entirely derange what has been done. It is therein mentioned, "one colonel for the two battalions;" of course, a colonel must be dismissed. One of the many difficulties, which attended the new arrangement, was in reconciling the different interests, and judging of the merits of the different colonels. In the dismission of this one, the same difficulties will occur. The officers and men must be acquainted with maritime affairs; to comply with which, they must be picked out of the whole army, one from this corps, one from another, so as to break through the whole system, which it has cost us so much time, anxiety, and pains, to bring into any tolerable form. Notwithstanding any difficulties which will arise, you may be assured, Sir, that I will use every endeavour to comply with their resolve.

I beg leave to submit it to the consideration of Congress, if those two battalions can be formed out of this army, whether this is a time to weaken our lines, by employing any of the officers appointed to defend them on any other service? The gentlemen, who were here from Congress, know their vast extent; they must know, that we shall have occasion for our whole force for that purpose, more now than at any past time, as we may expect the enemy will take the advantage of the first hard weather, and attempt to make an impression somewhere.

As there is every appearance, that this contest will not be soon decided, and of course that there must be an augmentation of the Continental army, would it not be eligible to raise two battalions of marines in New York and Philadelphia, where there must be numbers of sailors now unemployed? This, however, is matter of

opinion, which I mention with all due deference to the superior judgment of the Congress.

Enclosed you have copies of two letters, one from Colonel Arnold, the other from Colonel Enos. I can form no judgment on the latter's conduct, until I see him.* Notwithstanding the great defection, I do not despair of Colonel Arnold's success. He will have, in all probability, many more difficulties to encounter, than if he had been a fortnight sooner; as it is likely that Governor Carleton will, with what forces he can collect after the surrender of the rest of Canada, throw himself into Quebec, and there make his last effort.

There is no late account from Captains Broughton and Sellman, sent to the River St. Lawrence. The other cruisers have been chiefly confined to harbours, by the badness of the weather. The same reason has caused great delay in the building of our barracks; which, with a most mortifying scarcity of firewood, discourages the men from enlisting. The last, I am afraid, is an insuperable obstacle. I have applied to the honorable House of Representatives of this province, who were

* Colonel Enos commanded the rear division of the army under Arnold. When he arrived at the great Carrying-Place, between the Kennebec and Dead Rivers, he wrote to Colonel Arnold, who was then in advance, making inquiry about provisions. Arnold replied, that the stock was sufficient for twenty-five days. But before Enos got over the Carrying-Place, Major Bigelow was sent back from Colonel Greene's division with ninety men for provisions. Enos supplied them, and marched onward till he overtook Colonel Greene fifty miles up the Dead River. Here he received orders from Arnold to furnish Colonel Greene with provisions enough for his men in their march to the settlements on the Chaudière River. After executing this order, he had no more than six days' provions left for his own troops. In this condition it was the opinion of the officers, that the rear division ought to return.

Such is Colonel Enos's account, in his letter to Washington, and the court-martial acquitted him on the ground here assigned. But from Arnold's letters since published, it would appear, that he did not represent the matter with perfect accuracy. On the 15th of October, Arnold wrote to him, that there were twenty-five days' provisions. Arnold went

pleased to appoint a committee to negotiate this business; and, notwithstanding all the pains they have taken, and are taking, they find it impossible to supply our necessities. The want of a sufficient number of teams I understand to be the chief impediment.

I got returns this day from eleven colonels, of the numbers enlisted in their regiments. The whole amount is nine hundred and sixty-six men. There must be some other stimulus, besides love for their country, to make men fond of the service. It would be a great encouragement, and no additional expense to the continent, were they to receive pay for the months of October and November; also a month's pay in advance. The present state of the military chest will not admit of this. The sooner it is enabled to do so the better.

The commissary-general is daily expected in camp. I cannot send you the estimate of the clerks in his department, until he arrives.

I sincerely congratulate you upon the success of your arms, in the surrender of St. John's, which I hope is a happy presage of the reduction of the rest of Canada.

I have the honor to be, &c.

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forward, and wrote again on the 24th, from Chaudière Pond, that, on account of heavy rains, there had been a delay, and it would take twelve or fifteen days for the army to reach the inhabited country. He ordered Enos, therefore, and Greene, to select such a number of their best men, as could be supplied with fifteen days' provisions, and send the others, with the sick, back to the commissary at Norridgewock. Instead of obeying this order, Enos gave his provisions to Greene, except enough for his division of the troops on their return to Norridgewock, and immediately retraced his steps with all his men.

Although he was acquitted by the court-martial, and received a lieutenant-colonel's commission in the new army, yet he was not satisfied with the evidences he received of the good opinion of the Commander-in-chief, and in January he asked leave to resign. He removed to Vermont, and in 1781 was appointed a general and commander of the militia of that state, and became somewhat conspicuous as an actor in public affairs. — *Collections of the Maine Hist. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 364. — Ira Allen's *Hist. of Vermont*, pp. 189, 206.

TO JOSEPH REED.

Camp at Cambridge, 20 November, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

The hint contained in the last of your letters, respecting your continuance in my family, in other words, your wish that I could dispense with it, gives me pain. You already, my dear Sir, know my sentiments on this matter; you cannot but be sensible of your importance to me; at the same time I shall again repeat, what I have observed to you before, that I can never think of promoting my convenience at the expense of your interest and inclination. You can judge, that I feel the want of you, when I inform you, that the peculiar situation of Mr. Randolph's affairs obliged him to leave this place soon after you did; that Mr. Baylor, contrary to my expectation, is not in the smallest degree a penman, though spirited and willing; and that Mr. Harrison, though sensible, [clear,] and perfectly confidential, has never yet moved upon so large a scale, as to comprehend at one view the diversity of matter, which comes before me, so as to afford that ready assistance, which every man in my situation must stand more or less in need of. Mr. Moylan, it is true, is very obliging; he gives me what assistance he can; but other business must necessarily deprive me of his aid in a very short time.

This is my situation; judge you, therefore, how much I wished for your return, especially as the armed vessels, and the capital change in the state of this army about to take place, have added a new weight to a burthen, before too great for me to stand under with the smallest degree of comfort to my own feelings. My mind is now fully disclosed to you, with this assurance sincerely and affectionately accompanying it, that whilst you

are disposed to continue with me, I shall think myself too fortunate and happy to wish for a change.

Dr. Morgan, as director of the hospital, is exceedingly wanted at this place, and ought not to delay his departure for the camp a moment, many regulations being deferred, and accounts postponed, till his arrival. The method you have suggested, concerning the advanced pay, I very much approve, and would adopt it, but for the unfortunate and cramped state of our treasury, which keeps us for ever under the hatches. Pray urge the necessity of this measure to such members as you may converse with, and the want of cash to pay the troops for the months of October and November; as also to answer the demands of the commissary and quartermaster, and for contingencies. To do all this, a considerable sum will be necessary. Do not neglect to put that wheel in motion, which is to bring us the shirts and medicines from New York; they are much wanted here, and cannot be had, I should think, upon better terms than on a loan from the best of Kings, so anxiously disposed to promote the welfare of his American subjects.

Dr. Church is gone to Governor Trumbull, to be disposed of in a Connecticut gaol without the use of pen, ink, or paper, to be conversed with in the presence of a magistrate only, and in the English language. So much for indiscretion, the Doctor will say. Your account of our dependence upon the people of Great Britain, I religiously believe. It has long been my political creed, that the ministry would not have dared to go on as they did, but under the firmest persuasion that the people were with them. The weather has been unfavorable, however, for the arrival of their transports; only four companies of the seventeenth regiment and two of the artillery are yet arrived, by our last advices from Boston.

Our privateersmen go on at the old rate, mutinying if they cannot do as they please. Those at Plymouth, Beverly, and Portsmouth, have done nothing worth mentioning in the prize way, and no accounts are yet received from those farther eastward. Arnold, by a letter which left him the 27th ultimo, had then only got to the Chaudière Pond, and was scarce of provisions. His rear division, under the command of Colonel Enos, had, without his privity or consent, left him with three companies; and his expedition, inasmuch as it is to be apprehended, that Carleton, with the remains of such force as he had been able to raise, would get into Quebec before him, I fear is in a bad way. For further particulars I refer you to Mr. Hancock to whom are enclosed copies of Arnold's and Enos's letters. The last-named person is not yet arrived at this camp.

I thank you for your frequent mention of Mrs. Washington. I expect that she will be in Philadelphia about the time this letter may reach you, on her way hither. As she and her conductor, who I suppose will be Mr. Custis, her son, are perfect strangers to the road, the stages, and the proper place to cross Hudson's River, by all means avoiding New York, I shall be much obliged by your particular instructions and advice to her. I imagine, as the roads are bad and the weather cold, her stages must be short, especially as I presume her horses will be fatigued; as when they get to Philadelphia, they will have performed a journey of at least four hundred and fifty miles, my express having found her among her friends near Williamsburg, one hundred and fifty miles below my own house.

My respectful compliments to Mrs. Reed, and be assured that I am, dear Sir, with affectionate regard, &c.

TO AARON WILLARD.

Instructions.

SIR,

The honorable Continental Congress having lately passed a resolve, expressed in the following words, — "That two persons be sent, at the expense of these colonies, to Nova Scotia to inquire into the state of that colony, the disposition of the inhabitants towards the American cause, the condition of the fortifications and dock-yards, the quantity of artillery and warlike stores, and the number of soldiers, sailors, and ships of war there, and transmit the earliest intelligence to General Washington;" I do hereby constitute and appoint you, the said Aaron Willard, to be one of the persons to undertake this business; and, as the season is late and this a work of great importance, I entreat and request, that you will use the utmost despatch, attention, and fidelity in the execution of it. The necessity of acting with a proper degree of caution and secrecy is too apparent to need recommendation.

You will keep an account of your expenses, and, upon your return, will be rewarded in a suitable manner for the fatigue of your journey, and the services you render your country, by conducting and discharging this business with expedition and fidelity. Given under my hand, this 24th day of November, 1775.*

* The associate of Mr. Willard, on this mission, was Moses Child. These commissioners proceeded by land to the borders of Nova Scotia, where they were met by two proclamations of the Governor of that province; the one "warning all persons, that they do not in any manner, directly or indirectly, aid or assist with any supplies whatever any rebel or rebels, nor hold intelligence or correspondence with them, nor conceal, harbour, or protect any such offender, as they would avoid being deemed rebels and traitors, and proceeded against accordingly;" and the other, "forbidding any strangers to be in Halifax more than two hours, without

TO LUND WASHINGTON, MOUNT VERNON.*

Cambridge, 26 November, 1775.

What follows is part of a letter written to Mr. Lund Washington, the 26th day of November, 1775. A copy is taken to remind me of my engagements and the exact purport of them.

"I well know where the difficulty of accomplishing these things will lie. Overseers are already engaged, upon shares, to look after my business. Remote advantages to me, however manifest and beneficial, are nothing to them; and to engage standing wages, when I do not know that any thing that I have, or can raise, will command cash, is attended with hazard; for which reason, I hardly know what more to say, than to discov-

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making their business known to a justice of the peace, upon the pain and peril of being treated as spies." The commissioners thought it prudent to return to Cambridge, where they reported little else, than that, "from their own knowledge, and the best information from others, about eight parts in ten of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia would engage in the common cause of America, could they be protected." The grounds upon which they founded this opinion are not stated.

Another resolve was also passed by Congress, at the same time with the one cited in the above letter, by which General Washington was directed, "in case he should judge it practicable and expedient, to send into Nova Scotia a sufficient force to take away the cannon and warlike stores, and to destroy the docks, yards, and magazines, and to take and destroy any ships of war or transports there, belonging to our enemies." No attempts were made to put this resolve in execution.

* Mr. Lund Washington was the agent for superintending General Washington's plantations, and managing his business concerns, during the revolution. It was not known what degree of family relationship existed between them, though it was supposed, that they both descended from the same original stock. Their ancestors came to America at different times, doubtless emigrating from different parts of England, and the name is the only evidence of consanguinity, which either branch of the family possesses.

From the beginning to the end of the revolution, Lund Washington wrote to the General as often at least as two or three times a month, and commonly every week, detailing minutely all the events that oc-

er to you my wishes. The same reason, although it may in appearance have the same tendency in respect to you, shall not be the same in its operation; for I will engage for the year coming, and the year following, if these troubles and my absence continue, that your wages shall be standing and certain, at the highest amount, that any one year's crop has produced to you yet. I do not offer this as any temptation to induce you to go on more cheerfully in prosecuting these schemes of mine. I should do injustice to you, were I not to acknowledge, that your conduct has ever appeared to me above every thing sordid; but I offer it in consideration of the great charge you have upon your hands, and my entire dependence upon your fidelity and industry.

"It is the greatest, indeed it is the only comfortable reflection I enjoy on this score, that my business is in the hands of a person concerning whose integrity I have not a doubt, and on whose care I can rely. Were it not for this, I should feel very unhappy, on account of the situation of my affairs; but I am persuaded you will do for me as you would for yourself, and more than this I cannot expect.

"Let the hospitality of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up. Let no one go hungry away. If any

curred on the plantations, his purchases, sales, and payments of money, the kinds and quantity of produce, occupations of the laborers, and whatever else could tend to explain the precise condition and progress of the business in his hands. These letters were regularly answered by the General, even when the weight and embarrassment of public duties pressed most heavily upon him, and full instructions were returned for regulating the plans and conduct of the manager. Hardly any copies of this description of letters were recorded, if retained, and the originals have been lost or destroyed. But Lund Washington's letters are preserved, and they give evidence of the extraordinary attention bestowed by the Commander-in-chief on his domestic affairs, though several hundred miles from home, and bearing a burden of public cares, which alone was enough to distract and exhaust the firmest mind.

of this kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness; and I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, to the amount of forty or fifty pounds a year, when you think it well bestowed. What I mean by having no objection is, that it is my desire that it should be done. You are to consider, that neither myself nor wife is now in the way to do these good offices. In all other respects, I recommend it to you, and have no doubt of your observing the greatest economy and frugality; as I suppose you know, that I do not get a farthing for my services here, more than my expenses. It becomes necessary, therefore, for me to be saving at home."

The above is copied, not only to remind myself of my promises and requests, but others also, if any mischance happens to me.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Camp at Cambridge, 27 November, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 13th, with the enclosures, for which I thank you, came to this place on Wednesday evening; part of which, that is, the night, I was engaged with a party of men throwing up a work upon a hill, called Cobble Hill, which, in case we should ever be supplied with such things as we want, may prove useful to us, and could not be delayed, as the earth here is getting as hard as a rock. This, and the early departure of the post, prevented my giving your letter an answer the next morning.

In answer to your inquiries respecting armed vessels,

there are none of any tolerable force belonging to this government. I know of but two of any kind; those very small. At the Continental expense I have fitted out six, as by the enclosed list, two of which are upon the cruise directed by Congress; the rest ply about Cape Cod and Cape Ann, as yet to very little purpose. These vessels are all manned by officers and soldiers, except perhaps a master and pilots; but how far, as they are upon the old establishment, which has not more than a month to exist, they can be ordered off this station, I will not undertake to say, but suppose they might be engaged anew. Belonging to Providence there are two armed vessels; and I am told Connecticut has one, which, with one of those from Providence, is, I believe, upon the cruise you have directed.

I have no idea that the troops can remove from Boston this winter to a place, where no provision is made for them; however, we shall keep the best look-out we can; and upon that, and every occasion where practicable, give them the best we have. But their situation in Boston gives them but little to apprehend from a parting blow, whilst their ships can move, and floating batteries surround the town.

Nothing of importance has happened since my last. For God's sake hurry the signers of money, that our wants may be supplied. It is a very singular case, that their signing cannot keep pace with our demands. I heartily congratulate you and the Congress on the reduction of St. John's. I hope all Canada is in our possession before this. No accounts from Arnold since those mentioned in my last letter to the Congress. Would it not be politic to invite them to send members to Congress? Would it not be also politic to raise a regiment or two of Canadians, and bring them out of the country? They are good troops, and this

would be entering them heartily in the cause.* My best regards to the good families you are with. I am, very affectionately, your obedient servant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Camp at Cambridge, 28 November, 1775.

Sir,

I had the honor of writing to you on the 19th instant. I have now to inform you that Mr. Henry Knox is gone to New York, with orders to forward to this place what cannon and ordnance stores can be there procured. From thence he will proceed to General Schuyler on the same business, as you will see by the enclosed copy of instructions, which I have given him. It would give me much satisfaction, if this gentleman, or any other whom you may think qualified, were appointed to the command of the artillery regiment. In my letter to you of the 8th instant, I have expressed myself fully on this subject, which I beg leave to recommend to

* Congress had already provided for these measures, in the instructions given to a committee appointed to proceed to the northern army, for the purpose of conferring with General Schuyler on the affairs of his department. It is there stated, that "Congress desire you to exert your utmost endeavours to induce the Canadians to accede to a union with these colonies, and that they form from their several parishes a provincial convention, and send delegates to this Congress,"—and that "you use all the means in your power to perfect the raising of a regiment of Canadians." In fact General Montgomery had been beforehand with Congress in this respect, for he had said to the people, when he took possession of Montreal, on the 12th of November, that he "hoped to see such a provincial convention assembled, as would enter with zeal into every measure, that could contribute to set the civil and religious rights of that and her sister colonies on a permanent foundation." And he did not fail to use his best endeavours to induce as many Canadians as possible to join his standard. In this, however, he was less successful, than some sanguine persons had anticipated. Notwithstanding appearances, the Canadians proved themselves nowise inclined to be conquered into liberty.

your immediate attention; as the formation of that corps will be at a stand, until I am honored with your instructions thereon.

There are two persons engaged to go to Nova Scotia, on the business recommended in your last. By the best information we have from thence, the stores have been withdrawn some time. Should this not be the case, it is next to an impossibility to attempt any thing there, in the present unsettled and precarious state of the army.

Colonel Enos is arrived, and is under arrest; he acknowledges, that he had no orders for coming away. His trial cannot come on until I hear from Colonel Arnold, from whom there is no account since I wrote you last.

From what I can collect by my inquiries amongst the officers, it will be impossible to get the men to enlist for the continuance of the war, which will be an insuperable obstruction to the formation of the two battalions of marines on the plan resolved on by Congress. As it can make no difference, I propose to proceed on the new arrangement of the army, and, when completed, inquire out such officers and men as are best qualified for that service, and endeavour to form these battalions out of the whole. This appears to me the best method, and I hope it will meet with the approbation of Congress.

As it will be very difficult for the men to work, when the hard frost sets in, I have thought it necessary, though of little use at present, to take possession of Cobble Hill, for the benefit of any future operations. It was effected, without the least opposition from the enemy, the 23d instant. Their inactivity on this occasion I cannot account for; it is probable they are meditating a blow somewhere.

About three hundred men, women, and children of the poor inhabitants of Boston, came out to Point Shirley last Friday. They have brought their household furniture, but are destitute of every other necessary of life. I have recommended them to the attention of the committee of the Council of this province, now sitting at Watertown.

The number enlisted since my last is two thousand five hundred and forty men. I am sorry to be necessitated to mention to you the egregious want of public spirit, which reigns here. Instead of pressing to be engaged in the cause of their country, which I vainly flattered myself would be the case, I find we are likely to be deserted in a most critical time. Those that have enlisted must have a furlough, which I have been obliged to grant to fifty at a time, from each regiment. The Connecticut troops, upon whom I reckoned, are as backward, indeed, if possible, more so than the people of this colony. Our situation is truly alarming; and of this General Howe is well apprized, it being the common topic of conversation, when the people left Boston last Friday. No doubt, when he is reinforced, he will avail himself of the information.

I am making the best disposition I can for our defence, having thrown up, besides the work on Cobble Hill, several redoubts and half-moons along the bay; and I fear I shall be under the necessity of calling in the militia and minute-men of the country to my assistance. I say, I fear it, because, by what I can learn from the officers in the army belonging to this colony, it will be next to an impossibility to keep them under any degree of discipline, and it will be very difficult to prevail on them to remain a moment longer, than they themselves choose. It is a mortifying reflection, to be reduced to this dilemma. There has been nothing

wanting on my part to infuse a proper spirit amongst the officers, that they may exert their influence with the soldiery. You see, by a fortnight's recruiting amongst men with arms in their hands, how little has been the success.

As the smallpox is now in Boston, I have used the precaution of prohibiting such, as lately came out, from coming near our camp. General Burgoyne, I am informed, will soon embark for England.

You doubtless will have heard, before this reaches you, of General Montgomery's having got possession of Montreal. I congratulate you thereon. He has troubles with his troops, as well as I have. All I can learn of Colonel Arnold is, that he is near Quebec. I hope Montgomery will be able to proceed to his assistance. I shall be very uneasy until I hear they are joined.

My best respects attend the gentlemen in Congress; and believe me, Sir, your most obedient, &c.

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 28 November, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your favors of the 15th and 17th are come to hand. In one of them you justly observe, that the sudden departure of Mr. Randolph must cause your absence to be the more sensibly felt. I can truly assure you, that I miss you exceedingly, and if an express declaration be wanting to hasten your return, I make it most heartily; and with some pleasure, as Mr. Lynch in a letter of the 13th gives this information. "In consequence of your letter by Colonel Reed, I applied to the chief justice, who tells me the Supreme Courts are lately held, and

that it will be some time before their term will return; that he knows of no capital suit now depending, and that it is very easy for Colonel Reed to manage matters so as not to let that prevent his return to you; I am sure Mr. Chew is so heartily disposed to oblige you, and serve the cause, that nothing in his power will be wanting." I could wish, my good friend, that these things may give a spur to your inclination to return; and that I may see you here as soon as convenient, for I feel the want of your ready pen greatly.

What an astonishing thing it is, that those who are employed to sign the Continental bills should not be able, or inclined, to do it as fast as they are wanted. They will prove the destruction of the army, if they are not more attentive and diligent.

Such a dearth of public spirit, and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing, and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another, in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again. What will be the end of these manœuvres is beyond my scan. I tremble at the prospect. We have been till this time enlisting about three thousand five hundred men. To engage these I have been obliged to allow furloughs as far as fifty men to a regiment, and the officers I am persuaded indulge as many more. The Connecticut troops will not be prevailed upon to stay longer than their term, saving those who have enlisted for the next campaign, and are mostly on furlough; and such a mercenary spirit pervades the whole, that I should not be at all surprised at any disaster that may happen. In short, after the last of this month our lines will be so weakened, that the minute-men and militia must be called in for their defence; and these, being under no kind of government themselves,

will destroy the little subordination I have been laboring to establish, and run me into one evil whilst I am endeavouring to avoid another; but the less must be chosen. Could I have foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command. A regiment or any subordinate department would have been accompanied with ten times the satisfaction, and perhaps the honor.

The Congress already know, from the general estimate given in for a month, what sum it will take to supply the army; and that little less than two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars will answer the purpose. Pray impress this upon the members, and the necessity of forwarding the last sum voted, as one hundred thousand dollars will be totally inadequate to our demands at this time.

I wish that matter respecting the punctilio, hinted at by you, could come to some decision of Congress. I have done nothing yet in respect to the proposed exchange of prisoners, nor shall I, until I hear from them or you on this subject. I am sorry Mr. White met with a disappointment in the Jerseys; as I could wish not to be under the necessity, from any former encouragement given him, of taking him into my family. I find it is absolutely necessary that the aids to the Commander-in-chief should be ready at their pen, which I believe he is not, to render that assistance, which is expected of them. It would give me singular pleasure to provide for those two gentlemen, mentioned in your letter; but, believe me, it is beyond the powers of conception to realize the absurdities and partiality of these people, and the trouble and vexation I have had in the new arrangement of officers. After five, I think, different meetings of the general officers, I have

in a manner been obliged to yield to the humor and whimsies of the people, or get no army. The officers of one government would not serve in the regiments of another, although there was to be an entire new creation; a captain must be in this regiment, a subaltern in that company. In short, I can scarce tell at this moment in what manner they are fixed. Some time hence strangers may be brought in; but it could not be done now, except in an instance or two, without putting too much to hazard.

What can your brethren of the law mean, by saying your perquisites as secretary must be considerable? I am sure they have not amounted to one farthing. Captain Blewer waits, and therefore I shall add no more than that I am, dear Sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Cambridge, 28 November, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

You may easily conceive, that I had great pleasure in perusing your letter of the 18th instant, which, with the enclosures, I received last evening. It was much damped by my finding General Montgomery had the same difficulty to encounter, with the troops under your command, that I have with those here.* No troops

* General Montgomery wrote as follows to General Schuyler, the day after the capitulation of Montreal.

"I am exceedingly sorry that Congress have not favored me with a committee. It would have had great effect with the troops, who are exceedingly turbulent and even mutinous. My vexation and distress can only be alleviated by reflecting on the great public advantages, which must arise from my unparalleled good fortune. I shall clothe the troops completely, who engage again. I find with pleasure, that my politics

were ever better provided, or higher paid; yet their backwardness to enlist for another year is amazing. It grieves me to see so little of that patriotic spirit, which I was taught to believe was characteristic of this people.

Colonel Enos, who had the command of Arnold's rear division, is returned with the greater part of his men, which must weaken him so much, as to render him incapable of making a successful attack on Quebec, without assistance from General Montgomery. I hope he will be able to give it him, and, by taking that city, finish his glorious campaign. I have nothing material to communicate to you. I am making every disposition for defence, by throwing up redoubts along the Bay; some of which have been constructed under the enemy's guns, but they have not given us the least disturbance.

I suppose Mr. Howe waits the arrival of his reinforcements, when probably he will attempt something. He sent out about three hundred men, women, and children last week. They give shocking accounts of the want of fuel and fresh provisions. General Burgoyne

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have squared with the views of Congress, and shall lose no time in calling a convention, when my intended expedition is finished. Will not your health permit you to reside at Montreal this winter? I must go home, if I walk by the side of the lake, this winter. I am weary of power, and totally want that patience and temper, so requisite for such a command. I wish some method could be fallen upon of engaging *gentlemen* to serve. A point of honor, and more knowledge of the world to be found in that class of men, would greatly reform discipline and render the troops much more tractable.

"The officers of the first regiment of Yorkers and artillery company were very near a mutiny the other day, because I would not stop the clothing of the garrison of St. John's. I would not have sullied my own reputation, nor disgraced the Continental arms, by such a breach of capitulation, for the universe. There was no driving it into their heads, that the clothing was really the property of the soldier; that he had paid for it; and that every regiment, in this country especially, saved a year's clothing to have decent clothes to wear on particular occasions."

is gone, or going home. Last evening I received the agreeable account of one of our armed schooners having taken a large brigantine, laden with military stores, the inventory of which I have the pleasure to enclose. But let not this acquisition prevent your sending what stores you can spare. We shall want them all. Adieu, my dear General. I wish you a return of your health, and am, &c.

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Cambridge, 2 December, 1775.

SIR,

The reason of my giving you the trouble of this, is the late extraordinary and reprehensible conduct of some of the Connecticut troops. Some time ago, apprehending that some of them might incline to go home, when the time of their enlistment should be up, I applied to the officers of the several regiments, to know whether it would be agreeable to the men to continue until the 1st of January, or until a sufficient number of other forces could be raised to supply their place, who informed me, that they believed the whole of them would readily stay, till that could be effected. Having discovered last week, that they were very uneasy to leave the service, and determined upon it, I though it expedient to summon the general officers at head-quarters, and invite a delegation of the General Court to be present, that suitable measures might be adopted for the defence and support of our lines. The result was, that three thousand of the minute-men and militia of this province, and two thousand men from New Hampshire, should be called in, by the 10th instant, for that purpose. With this determination the

Connecticut troops were made acquainted, and requested and ordered to remain here, as the time of most of them would not be out before the 10th, when they would be relieved. Notwithstanding this, yesterday morning most of them resolved to leave the camp. Many went off, and the utmost vigilance and industry were used to apprehend them. Several got away with their arms and ammunition. I have enclosed you a list of the names of some of them in General Putnam's regiment only, who escaped, and submit to your judgment, whether an example should not be made of these men, who have basely deserted the cause of their country at this critical juncture, when the enemy are receiving reinforcements.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that one of our armed vessels, the Lee, Captain Manly, took and brought in the other day a valuable store-ship bound to Boston. I am, &c.*

* Governor Trumbull wrote in reply;—"The late extraordinary and reprehensible conduct of some of the troops of this colony impresses me, and the minds of many of our people, with grief, surprise, and indignation; since the treatment they met with, and the order and request made to them, were so reasonable, and apparently necessary for the defence of our common cause, and safety of our rights and privileges, for which they freely engaged; the term they voluntarily enlisted to serve not expired, and probably would not end much before the time when they would be relieved, provided their circumstances and inclination should prevent their undertaking further.

"Indeed, there is great difficulty to support liberty, to exercise government, to maintain subordination, and at the same time to prevent the operation of licentious and levelling principles, which many very easily imbibe. The pulse of a New England man beats high for liberty; his engagement in the service he thinks purely voluntary; therefore, when the time of enlistment is out, he thinks himself not holden without further engagement. This was the case in the last war. I greatly fear its operation amongst the soldiers of the other colonies, as I am sensible this is the genius and spirit of our people. The union of the colonies, and the internal union of each, are of the utmost importance. I determine to call the General Assembly of this colony to meet at New Haven on Thursday, the 14th instant. Please to notify me of any

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 4 December, 1775.

Sir,

It is some time since I recommended to the Congress, that they would institute a court for the trial of prizes made by the Continental armed vessels, which I hope they have ere now taken into their consideration; otherwise I should again take the liberty of urging it in the most pressing manner.

The conduct of a great number of the Connecticut troops has laid me under the necessity of calling in a body of the militia, much sooner than I apprehended there would be an occasion for such a step. I was afraid some time ago, that they would incline to go home when the time of their enlistment expired. I called upon the officers of the several regiments, to know whether they could prevail on the men to remain until the 1st of January, or till a sufficient number of other forces could be raised to supply their place. I suppose they were themselves deceived. I know they deceived me by assurances, that I need be under no apprehension on that score, for the men would not leave the lines. Last Friday showed how much they were mistaken, as the major part of the troops of that colony were going away with their arms and ammunition. We have, however, by threats, persuasions, and the activity of the people of the country, who sent back many of them, that had set out, prevailed upon

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matters you think proper to suggest for consideration. You may depend on their zeal and ardor to support the common cause, to furnish our quota, and to exert their utmost strength for the defence of the rights of these colonies. Your candor and goodness will suggest to your consideration, that the conduct of our troops is not a rule whereby to judge of the temper and spirit of the colony."

the larger part to stay. There are about eighty of them missing.

I have called in three thousand men from this province; and General Sullivan, who lately returned from the province of New Hampshire, having informed me that a number of men were there ready at the shortest notice, I have demanded two thousand from that province. These two bodies, I expect, will be in by the tenth instant, to make up the deficiency of the Connecticut men, whom I have promised to dismiss on that day, as well as the numbers to whom I was obliged to grant furloughs before any would enlist. As the same defection is much to be apprehended, when the time of the Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island forces is expired, I beg the attention of Congress to this important affair.*

I am informed, that it has been the custom of these provinces in the last war, for the legislative power to order every town to provide a certain quota of men for the campaign. This, or some other mode, should be at present adopted, as I am satisfied the men cannot be had without it. This the Congress will please to take into their immediate consideration. My suspicions on

* Mr. Lynch, who had been one of the committee of conference in camp, wrote to General Washington, after returning to Congress, in regard to the state of the army here described;—

"Providence favors us every where; our success in every operation exceeds our most sanguine expectations; and yet, when God is ready to deliver our oppressors into our hands, that men cannot be found willing to receive them, is truly surprising. With grief and shame it must be confessed, that the whole blame lies not with the army. You will find your hands straitened instead of strengthened. What the event will be, it is impossible to foresee; perhaps it is only intended to force the continent into their own terms, and to show that neither General nor Congress shall be permitted to control the army; perhaps to mortify the favorites of Congress. Be this as it may, resolution and firmness ought to rule our councils. A step yielded to improper and intemperate demands may be irretrievable."

this head I shall also communicate to the Governors Trumbull and Cooke, also to the New Hampshire Convention.

The number enlisted in the last week is about thirteen hundred men. By this you see how slow this important work goes on. Enclosed is a letter written to me by General Putnam, recommending Colonel Babcock to the brigadier-generalship now vacant in this army. I know nothing of this gentleman, but I wish the vacancy were filled, as the want of one is attended with very great inconveniences. An express is just come in from General Schuyler, with letters from Colonel Arnold and General Montgomery, copies of which I have the honor to enclose. Upon the whole, I think affairs carry a pleasing aspect in that quarter. The reduction of Quebec is an object of such great importance, that I doubt not the Congress will give every assistance in their power for the accomplishing of it this winter.*

* General Howe wrote to Lord Dartmouth, on the 3d of December, communicating intelligence of the loss of St. John's and Montreal, and the retreat of General Carleton to Quebec, and expressing apprehensions that the entire province would fall into the hands of the invaders, as there was little reason to believe the capital would be able to withstand the expected attack. He added, also, that, supposing it possible the Americans might be encouraged by their successes in Canada, and the arms recently taken in the brigantine Nancy, and think of a project against Halifax, he should immediately send a reinforcement to that place. As the recovery of Canada was a primary object, he recommended that the army for effecting it should consist of not less than twelve thousand fighting men, representing at the same time the inexpediency of abandoning the plan heretofore suggested of taking possession of Rhode Island and New York, since the enemy would be more distressed by an attack on this vulnerable side, than by any successes against them in Canada. — *MS. Letter.*

The following intelligence was contained in a letter from General Howe, forwarded at the same time as the above. "The enclosed are original letters found in Mr. Cushing's house. They are from Dr. Franklin and Mr. Stephen Sayre, and of a nature that points out the train carried on by these gentlemen to blow up this country into a rebellion."

The troops in Boston suffered much for want of fuel. The following

By the last accounts from the armed schooners sent to the River St. Lawrence, I fear we have but little to expect from them. They were falling short of provision, and mentioned that they would be obliged to return; which at this time is particularly unfortunate, as, if they chose a proper station, all the vessels coming down that river must fall into their hands. The plague, trouble, and vexation I have had with the crews of all the armed vessels, are inexpressible. I do believe there is not on earth a more disorderly set. Every time they come into port, we hear of nothing but mutinous complaints. Manly's success has lately, and but lately, quieted his people. The crews of the Washington and Harrison have actually deserted them; so that I have been under the necessity of ordering the agent to lay the latter up, and get hands for the other on the best terms he could.

The House of Representatives and the honorable Board have sent me a vote of theirs relative to the harbour of Cape Cod, which you have herewith. I shall send an officer thither to examine what can be done for its defence, though I do not think I shall be able to give them such assistance as may be requisite; for I have at present neither men, powder, nor cannon to spare. The great want of powder is what the attention of Congress should be particularly applied to. I dare not attempt any thing offensive, let the temptation or advantage be ever so great, as I have not more of that

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extraordinary order will show, that the destruction of houses to supply this want was far from being approved by the British commander.

"The frequent depredations committed by the soldiers in pulling down houses and fences, in defiance of repeated orders, have induced the Commander-in-chief to direct the Provost to go his rounds attended by the executioners, with orders to hang up, upon the spot, the first man he shall detect in the fact, without waiting for further proof by trial." — *General Howe's Orderly Book, December 5th.*

most essential article, than will be absolutely necessary to defend our lines, should the enemy attempt to attack them.

By recent information from Boston, General Howe is going to send out a number of the inhabitants, in order, it is thought, to make more room for his expected reinforcements. There is one part of the information I can hardly give credit to. A sailor says, that a number of those coming out have been inoculated, with the design of spreading the smallpox through this country and camp. I have communicated this to the General Court, and recommended their attention thereto. They are arming one of the transports in Boston, with which they mean to decoy some of our armed vessels. As we are apprized of their design, I hope they will be disappointed. My best respects wait on the gentlemen in Congress, and I am, Sir, your most humble, &c.

TO GOVERNOR COOKE.

Cambridge, 5 December, 1775.

SIR,

I have of late met with abundant reason to be convinced of the impracticability of recruiting this army to the new establishment, in any reasonable time by voluntary enlistments. The causes of such exceeding great lukewarmness I shall not attempt to point out; sufficient it is to know, that the fact is so. Many reasons are assigned; one only shall I mention, and that is, that the present soldiery are in expectation of drawing from the landed interest and farmers a bounty, equal to that given at the commencement of this army, and therefore they keep aloof. Be this as it may, I am satisfied that this is not a time for trifling, and that the exigency of our affairs calls aloud for vigorous exertions.

By sad experience it is found, that the Connecticut regiments have deserted, and are about to desert, the noble cause we are engaged in. Nor have I any reason to believe, that the forces of New Hampshire, this government, or Rhode Island, will give stronger proofs of their attachment to it, when the period arrives that they may claim their dismission. For after every stimulus in my power to throw in their way, and near a month's close endeavour, we have enlisted men, of whom one thousand five hundred at a time are to be absent on furlough, until all have gone home to visit and provide for their families.

Five thousand militia, from this government and the colony of New Hampshire, are ordered to be at this place by the 10th instant, to relieve the Connecticut regiments and supply the deficiency, which will be occasioned by their departure and the absence of those on furlough. These men, I have been told by officers, who were eyewitnesses to their behaviour, are not to be depended upon for more than a few days; as they soon get tired, grow impatient and ungovernable, and of course leave the service. What will be the consequences, then, if the greatest part of the army is to be composed of such men? Upon the new establishment twenty-six regiments were ordered to be raised, besides those of the artillery and riflemen; of these New Hampshire has three, Massachusetts sixteen, Rhode Island two, and Connecticut five. A mode of appointing the officers was also recommended, and as strictly adhered to as circumstances would admit. These officers are now recruiting, with the success I have mentioned.

Thus, Sir, have I given you a true and impartial state of our situation, and submit it to the wisdom of your and the other three New England colonies, whether vigorous measures, if the powers of government are

adequate, ought not to be adopted, to facilitate the completion of this army without offering a bounty from the public, which Congress have declared against, thinking the terms, exclusive thereof, greater than ever soldiers had before. I have, by this conveyance, laid the matter before Congress, but the critical situation of our affairs will not await their deliberation and recommendation; something must be done without further delay. I am, Sir, &c.*

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Cambridge, 5 December, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your much esteemed favor of the 22d ultimo, covering Colonel Arnold's letter, with a copy of one to General Montgomery and his to you, I received yesterday morning. It gave me the highest satisfaction to hear of Colonel Arnold's being at Point Levi, with his men in great spirits, after their long and fatiguing march, attended with almost insuperable difficulties, and the discouraging circumstance of being left by near one third of the troops, that went on the expedition. The merit of this gentleman is certainly great, and I heartily

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* At this time the army at Cambridge was suffering much distress for the want of firewood and hay. The Assembly of Massachusetts undertook to supply these articles, by calling on the towns within twenty miles of Boston, to furnish at stated times specific quantities, according to the population of each town, and its distance from camp. This requisition was generally complied with by the selectmen and committees of the towns, although it was issued only in the form of a recommendation, and the wants of the army were effectually relieved. These supplies were furnished at the charge of the colony. A committee of the Assembly was likewise authorized to procure wood from such woodlands as they thought proper, even without the consent of the owner, a reasonable price being paid for the wood thus taken away. — *Journal of the Assembly, December 2d, 16th, and 23d.*

wish, that fortune may distinguish him as one of her favorites. I am convinced, that he will do every thing that prudence and valor shall suggest, to add to the success of our arms and for reducing Quebec to our possession. Should he not be able to accomplish so desirable a work with the forces he has, I flatter myself, that it will be effected when General Montgomery joins him, and our conquest of Canada be complete.

I am exceedingly sorry to find you so much plagued and embarrassed by the disregard of discipline, confusion, and want of order among the troops, as to have occasioned you to mention to Congress an inclination to retire. I know that your complaints are too well founded; but I would willingly hope, that nothing will induce you to quit the service, and that, in time, order and subordination will take place of confusion, and command be rendered more agreeable. I have met with difficulties of the same sort, and such as I never expected; but they must be borne with. The cause we are engaged in is so just and righteous, that we must try to rise superior to every obstacle in its support; and, therefore, I beg that you will not think of resigning, unless you have carried your application to Congress too far to recede. I am, dear Sir, with great esteem and regard, yours, &c.*

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* General Schuyler had written in the letter to which this is a reply;— "Nothing can surpass the impatience of the troops from the New England colonies to get to their firesides. Near three hundred of them arrived a few days ago, unable to do any duty; but as soon as I administered that grand specific, *a discharge*, they instantly acquired health, and rather than be detained a few days to cross Lake George, they undertook a march from here of two hundred miles with the greatest alacrity.

"Our army requires to be put on a different footing. Habituated to order, I cannot, without the most extreme pain, see that disregard of discipline, confusion, and inattention, which reign so generally in this quarter, and I am therefore determined to retire. Of this resolution I have advised Congress."

TO COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Cambridge, 5 December, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 8th ultimo, with a postscript of the 14th from Point Levi, I have had the pleasure to receive. It is not in the power of any man to command success, but you have done more, you have deserved it; and before this time I hope you will have met with the laurels, which are due to your toils, in the possession of Quebec. My thanks are due, and sincerely offered to you, for your enterprising and persevering spirit. To your brave followers I likewise present them. I was not unmindful of you, or them, in the establishment of a new army. One out of twenty-six regiments (lately General Putnam's) you are appointed to the command of, and I have ordered all the officers with you to one or another of these regiments, in the rank they now bear, that in case they choose to continue in service, and no appointments take place where they now are, no disappointment may follow.

Nothing very material has happened in this camp since you left it. Finding we were not likely to do much in the land way, I fitted out several privateers, or rather armed vessels, in behalf of the continent, with which we have taken several prizes to the amount, it is supposed, of fifteen thousand pounds sterling. One of them, a valuable store-ship, but with no powder in it, contained a fine brass thirteen-inch mortar, two thousand stand of arms, shot, and other articles.

I have no doubt but a junction of your detachment with the army under General Montgomery is effected before this. If so, you will put yourself under his command, and will, I am persuaded, give him all the assistance in your power, to finish the glorious work you

have begun. That the Almighty may preserve and prosper you in it, is the sincere and fervent prayer of, dear Sir, &c.

P. S. You could not be more surprised than I was, at Enos's return with the division under his command. I immediately put him under arrest, and had him tried for quitting the detachment without your orders. He is acquitted on the score of provisions.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 7 December, 1775.

SIR,

I wrote to you, the 4th instant, by express, to which I beg you will be referred. My fears, that Broughton and Selman would not effect any good purpose, were too well founded. They are returned, and brought with them three of the principal inhabitants from the island of St. John's. Mr. Callbeck, as president of the council, acted as governor. They brought the governor's commission and the Province seal. As the captains acted without any warrant for such conduct, I have thought it but justice to discharge these gentlemen, whose families were left in the utmost distress.*

* Broughton and Selman commanded the two armed vessels heretofore mentioned, that had been despatched by Washington, in compliance with an order of Congress, to intercept in the River St. Lawrence two brigantines, which, it had been understood, were to sail from England to Quebec, laden with arms and ammunition, and without convoy. After a cruise of several days, the American captains discovered no such vessels, but they committed a very unjustifiable act in making a descent on the island of St. John's, pillaging the defenceless inhabitants, and bringing away some of them prisoners. The gentlemen thus brought off, among whom was Mr. Callbeek, presented a memorial to General Washington, in which they stated, that the governor's house and other private dwellings

I am credibly informed that James Anderson, the consignee and part owner of the ship Concord and cargo, is not only unfriendly to American liberty, but actually in arms against us, being captain of the Scotch company at Boston. Whether your being acquainted with this circumstance will operate against the vessel and cargo, I will not take upon me to say; but there are many articles on board, so absolutely necessary for the army, that whether she is made a prize or not, we must have them. I have the honor to be, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 11 December, 1775.

SIR,

Captain Manly, of the Lee armed schooner, has taken and sent into Beverly two prizes since I wrote you last, which was the 7th instant. One of them is the ship Jenny, Captain Foster, who left London late in October. He has very unfortunately thrown all his papers over-

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were broken open, and robbed of their plate, carpets, curtains, looking-glasses, table linen, wearing apparel, and whatever else was of value and could be taken away. This was done by the captains, of course, without a shadow of licence from their instructions, though apparently rather through ignorance of the customary rules of warfare, than by any conscious violation of the laws of equity and honor. Such conduct, however, could not fail to excite the indignation of the Commander-in-chief, and he released the captives immediately, treating them with all possible kindness and respect. Orders were given for restoring the goods, which had been pillaged, and from the following note, written by Mr. Callbeck, it may be presumed, that he at least was satisfied.

"I should ill deserve the generous treatment, which your Excellency has been pleased to show me, had I not gratitude to acknowledge so great a favor. I cannot ascribe any part of it to my own merit, but must impute the whole to the philanthropy and humane disposition, that so truly characterize General Washington. Be so obliging, therefore, as to accept the only return in my power, that of my most grateful thanks."

board, and is not yet arrived at camp. His vessel is loaded with coal and porter; of the latter he has about one hundred butts. The other is a brigantine from Antigua, called the Little Hannah, Robert Adams master. Her cargo consists of one hundred and thirty-nine hogsheads of rum, one hundred cases of Geneva, and some other trifling articles. Both cargoes were for the army and navy at Boston. I have great pleasure in congratulating you on this business.

The numbers enlisted last week are men. If they go on at this slow rate, it will be a long time before this army is complete. I have written to the Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island, also to the Convention of New Hampshire, on this subject. A copy of my letter to them I have the honor to enclose herewith. A letter to the same purport I sent to the legislature of this province.

The militia are coming in fast. I am much pleased with the alacrity, which the good people of this province, as well as those of New Hampshire, have shown upon this occasion. I expect the whole will be in this day and to-morrow, when what remains of the Connecticut gentry, who have not enlisted, will have liberty to go to their firesides. The information I received, that the enemy intended spreading the smallpox amongst us, I could not suppose them capable of. I now must give some credit to it, as it has made its appearance on several of those, who last came out of Boston. Every necessary precaution has been taken to prevent its being communicated to this army; and the General Court will take care, that it does not spread through the country.

I have not heard that any more troops are arrived at Boston; which is a lucky circumstance, as the Connecticut troops, I now find, are for the most part gone

off. The houses in Boston are lessening every day; they are pulled down, either for fire-wood, or to prevent the effects of fire, should we attempt a bombardment or an attack upon the town. Cobble Hill is strongly fortified, without any interruption from the enemy.

Colonel Enos has been tried and acquitted; upon what principle you will see by the process of his trial, which I now send you. As the time of Colonel Enos's engagement was near expired, a doubt arose whether he could then be tried by a court-martial. This it was, which occasioned his trial to come on before Colonel Arnold's evidence could be had. I am, &c.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 14 December, 1775.

Sir,

I received your favor of the 2d instant, with the several resolves of Congress therein enclosed. The resolves relative to captures made by Continental armed

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* Mrs. Washington arrived in camp from Virginia on the 11th of December, accompanied by her son, Mr. Custis, and his wife. As the General could not leave the army, he had requested Mrs. Washington to pass the winter with him at Cambridge. It seems, that some persons thought her in danger at Mount Vernon, which stands on the bank of the Potomac River, and is accessible to armed ships of the largest size. Lund Washington had written to the General; — "Many people have made a stir about Mrs. Washington's continuing at Mount Vernon, but I cannot think there is any danger. The thought I believe originated in Alexandria; from thence it got to Loudoun, and I am told the people of Loudoun talk of sending a guard to conduct her up to Berkeley, with some of their principal men to persuade her to leave this place and accept their offer. Mr. John Augustine Washington wrote, pressing her to leave Mount Vernon. She does not believe herself in danger. Lord Dunmore will hardly himself venture up this river; nor do I believe he will send on that errand. Surely her old acquaintance, the attorney, who, with his family, is on board his ship, would prevent his doing an act of that kind. You may depend I will be watchful, and upon the least alarm persuade her to remove."

vessels only want a court established for trial, to make them complete. This, I hope, will be soon done, as I have taken the liberty to urge it often to the Congress.

I am somewhat at a loss to know whether I am to raise the two battalions of marines here or not. As the delay can be attended with but little inconvenience, I will wait a farther explanation from Congress, before I take any steps therein. I am much pleased that the money will be forwarded with all possible expedition, as it is much wanted; also that Connolly and his associates are taken. It has been a very fortunate discovery. I make no doubt, but that the Congress will take every necessary measure to dispossess Lord Dunmore of his hold in Virginia. The sooner steps are taken for that purpose, the more probability there will be of their being effectual. I hope Colonel Knox will soon finish the business he is upon, and appear here to take the honorable command conferred on him by Congress.* I will make application to General Howe, and propose an exchange for Mr. Ethan Allen. I am much afraid I shall have a like proposal to make for Captain Martindale and his men, of the armed brigantine Washington, which, it is reported, was taken a few days past by a man-of-war, and carried into Boston. We cannot expect to be always successful. You will doubtless hear of the barbarity of Captain Wallace on Connanicut Island, ere this reaches your hands.†

About a hundred and fifty more of the poor inhabi-

* Henry Knox was appointed Colonel of the regiment of artillery by Congress, on the 17th of November. He took the place of Colonel Gridley, and his appointment was made in consequence of General Washington's recommendation.

† Connanicut is a small island opposite Newport, in Narraganset Bay. Captain Wallace, who commanded an armed vessel in the harbour of Newport, landed on the island with a body of sailors and marines, burnt several houses, plundered the people's goods, and drove off the cattle.

tants are come out of Boston. The smallpox rages all over the town. Such of the military, as had it not before, are now under inoculation. This, I apprehend, is a weapon of defence they are using against us. What confirms me in this opinion, is, that I have information, that they are tearing up the pavement, to be provided against a bombardment. I wrote to you this day by Messrs. Penet and Pliarne, who will lay before the Congress, or a committee thereof, proposals for furnishing the continent with arms and ammunition. I refer you to themselves for further particulars.* I have the honor to be, &c.

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Cambridge, 15 December, 1775.

SIR,

Your favors of the 7th and 9th instant I received, and was much pleased to hear of the zeal of the people of Connecticut, and the readiness of the inhabitants of the several towns to march to this camp, upon their being acquainted with the behaviour and desertion of their troops. I have nothing to suggest for the consideration of your Assembly. I am confident they will not be wanting in their exertions for supporting the just and constitutional rights of the colonies.

Enclosed I send you a list of the officers and companies under the new establishment, with the number of the men enlisted; the returns only came in to-day, or I would have transmitted it before.

Having heard that it is doubtful whether the Reverend Mr. Leonard, from your colony, will have it in his

* Penet and Pliarne were merchants of Nantes in France, and were afterwards employed by Congress for furnishing military supplies.

power to continue here as a Chaplain, I cannot but express some concern, as I think his departure will be a loss. His general conduct has been exemplary and praiseworthy; in discharging the duties of his office, active and industrious; he has discovered himself a warm and steady friend to his country, and taken great pains to animate the soldiers, and impress them with a knowledge of the important rights we are contending for. Upon the late desertion of the troops, he gave a sensible and judicious discourse, holding forth the necessity of courage and bravery, and at the same time of obedience and subordination to those in command.

In justice to the merits of this gentleman, I thought it only right to give you this testimonial of my opinion of him, and to mention him to you, as a person worthy of your esteem and that of the public. I am, Sir, &c.

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 15 December, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Since my last, I have had the pleasure of receiving your favors of the 28th ultimo, and the 2d instant. I must again express my gratitude for the attention shown to Mrs. Washington at Philadelphia. It cannot but be pleasing, although it did, in some measure, impede the progress of her journey.

I am much obliged to you for the hints contained in both of the above letters, respecting the jealousies which you say are gone abroad. I have studiously avoided in all letters calculated for the public eye, I mean for that of the Congress, every expression that could give pain or uneasiness; and I shall observe the same rule with respect to private letters, any further than

appears absolutely necessary for the elucidation of facts. I cannot charge myself with incivility, or, what in my opinion is tantamount, ceremonious civility, to the gentlemen of this colony; but if such my conduct appears, I will endeavour at a reformation, as I can assure you, my dear Reed, that I wish to walk in such a line as will give most general satisfaction. You know, that it was my wish at first to invite a certain number of the gentlemen of this colony every day to dinner,* but unintentionally we some how or other missed of it. If this has given rise to the jealousy, I can only say that I am sorry for it; at the same time I add, that it was rather owing to inattention, or, more properly, too much attention to other matters, which caused me to neglect it. The extracts of letters from this camp, which so frequently appear in the Pennsylvania papers, are not only written without my knowledge, but without my approbation, as I have always thought they must have an unfavorable tendency; but there is no restraining men's tongues, or pens, when charged with a little vanity, as in the accounts given of, or rather by, the riflemen.

With respect to what you have said of yourself, and your situation, I can only add to what I have before said on this subject, that whilst you leave the door open to my expectation of your return, I shall not think of supplying your place. If ultimately you resolve against coming, I should be glad to know it, as soon as you have determined. The Congress have resolved well in respect to the pay of the men; but if they cannot get the money-signers to despatch their business, it is of very little avail; for we have not at this time money enough in camp to answer the commissary's and quarter-master's accounts, much less to pay the troops.

* General Washington's head-quarters were but two miles from Watertown, where the General Court of Massachusetts assembled.

The account, which you have given of the sentiments of the people respecting my conduct, is extremely flattering. I pray God, that I may continue to deserve them, in my perplexed and intricate situation.

Our enlistment goes on slowly. By the returns last Monday, only five thousand nine hundred and seventeen men are engaged for the ensuing campaign; and yet we are told, that we shall get the number wanted, as they are only playing off to see what advantages are to be made, and whether a bounty cannot be extorted either from the public at large, or individuals, in case of a draft. Time only can discover this. I doubt the measure exceedingly. The fortunate capture of the store-ship has supplied us with flints, and many other articles we stood in need of; but we still have our wants. I am, &c.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL HOWE.

Camp at Cambridge, 18 December, 1775.

SIR,

We have just been informed of a circumstance, which, were it not so well authenticated, I should scarcely think credible. It is that Colonel Allen, who, with his small party, was defeated and taken prisoner near Montreal, has been treated without regard to decency, humanity, or the rules of war; that he has been thrown into irons, and suffers all the hardships inflicted upon common felons.

I think it my duty, Sir, to demand, and do expect from you, an eclaircissement on this subject. At the same time, I flatter myself, from the character which Mr. Howe bears, as a man of honor, gentleman, and soldier, that my demand will meet with his approbation. I must take the liberty, also, of informing you, that I shall con-

sider your silence as a confirmation of the report; and further assuring you, that, whatever treatment Colonel Allen receives, whatever fate he undergoes, such exactly shall be the treatment and fate of Brigadier Prescott, now in our hands.* The law of retaliation is not only justifiable in the eyes of God and man, but absolutely a duty, which, in our present circumstances, we owe to our relations, friends, and fellow-citizens.

Permit me to add, Sir, that we have all here the highest regard and reverence for your great personal qualities and attainments, and that the Americans in general esteem it as not the least of their misfortunes, that the name of Howe, a name so dear to them,† should appear at the head of the catalogue of the instruments employed by a wicked ministry for their destruction.

With due respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

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* When Ethan Allen was captured at Montreal, he was taken before the British General, Prescott, who treated him not only with extreme rudeness, but cruelty. Allen writes, that, after receiving from him much personal abuse, "he ordered one of his officers to take me on board the Gaspee, schooner of war, and confine me, hands and feet, in irons, which was done the same afternoon I was taken."—*Narrative*, &c. p. 26. The account of this treatment was confirmed to General Montgomery, after he had taken Montreal; and when General Prescott fell into his hands, he gave notice to General Schuyler of his previous conduct. This intelligence reached Congress and General Washington, and caused the above letter to General Howe. It was a just retribution, therefore, that Prescott should be made to feel the severity and indignities, which he was capable of practising upon a soldier and a brave man. He was for a time imprisoned in a jail at Philadelphia by order of Congress, but was released from confinement in consequence of ill health.

† Alluding to Lord Howe, a brother of General Howe, who had been slain in the last war at the attack on Ticonderoga under General Abercromby. He was an officer of great merit, and extremely popular in the colonies. The province of Massachusetts caused a monument to be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.—Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. III. p. 71.

P. S. If an exchange of prisoners taken on each side in this unnatural contest is agreeable to General Howe, he will please to signify as much to his most obedient, &c. *

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 18 December, 1775.

SIR,

Captain Manly, of the Lee armed schooner, took and sent into Beverly the sloop Betsey, Atkinson master. She is an armed vessel, despatched by Lord Dunmore,

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* The part of the above letter, concerning Colonel Allen, was written in consequence of an order from Congress. It had also been resolved by Congress, that an exchange of prisoners was proper, citizens for citizens, officers for officers of equal rank, and soldier for soldier.

GENERAL HOWE'S ANSWER.

"Boston, 25 December, 1775.

"SIR,

"In answer to your letter of the 18th instant, I am to acquaint you, that my command does not extend to Canada. Not having received any accounts wherein the name of Allen is mentioned, I cannot give you the smallest satisfaction upon the subject of your letter. But trusting Major-General Carleton's conduct will never incur censure upon any occasion, I am to conclude in the instance of your inquiry, that he has not forfeited his past pretensions to decency and humanity.

"It is with regret, considering the character you have always maintained among your friends, as a gentleman of the strictest honor and delicacy, that I find cause to resent a sentence in the conclusion of your letter, big with invective against my superiors, and insulting to myself, which should obstruct any further intercourse between us.

"I am, Sir, with due respect, your most obedient servant,

"W. HOWE."

"To GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ."

The day after receiving Washington's letter, that is, on the 19th of December, General Howe wrote to Lord Dartmouth as follows.

"Mr. Washington, presuming upon the number and rank of the prisoners in his possession, has threatened retaliation in point of treatment to any prisoners of theirs in our power; and proposes an exchange, which is

with Indian corn, potatoes, and oats, for the army in Boston. The packets of letters found on board, I have the honor to send you with this by Captain James Chambers, they being of so much importance, that I do not think it would be prudent to trust them by a common express. As Lord Dunmore's schemes are fully laid open in these letters, I need not point out to the Congress the necessity there is of a vigorous exertion being made by them, to dispossess his Lordship of the strong-hold he has got in Virginia. I do not mean to dictate, but I am sure they will pardon me for giving them freely my opinion, which is, that the fate of America a good deal depends on his being obliged to evacuate Norfolk this winter or not.

I have Kirkland well secured, and think I will send him to you for examination. By most of the letters relative to him, he is a dangerous fellow. John Stewart's letters and papers are of a very interesting nature.

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a circumstance I shall not answer in positive terms; nor shall I enter upon such a measure without the King's orders. Your Lordship has, enclosed, a publication extracted from the minutes of the Continental Congress in reference to his Majesty's proclamation of the 23d of August, on the principles of which Mr. Washington seems to have founded his threats."— *MS. Letter.*

This proclamation declared the colonies to be in open rebellion against the crown, and all the King's officers, civil and military, were ordered to give information of such persons as should be found aiding or abetting those, who were in arms against the government, or holding any correspondence with them, "in order to bring to condign punishment the authors, perpetrators, and abettors of such traitorous designs." After considering this proclamation, the Congress declared and published, "that whatever punishment shall be inflicted upon any persons in the power of our enemies for favoring, aiding, or abetting the cause of American liberty, shall be retaliated in the same kind and the same degree upon those in our power, who have favored, aided, or abetted, or shall favor, aid, or abet the system of ministerial oppression. The essential difference between our cause, and that of our enemies, might justify a severer punishment; the law of retaliation will unquestionably warrant one equally severe."— *Remembrancer*, Vol. I. p. 148.— *Journals of Congress, December 6th*, 1775.

Governor Tonyn's and many other letters from St. Augustine show the weakness of the place; at the same time, of what vast consequence it would be for us to possess ourselves of it, and the great quantity of ammunition contained in the forts. Indeed these papers are of so great consequence, that I think this but little inferior to any prize our famous Manly has taken.

We now work at our ease on Lechmere's Hill. On discovering our party there yesterday morning, the ship which lay opposite began a cannonade, to which Mount Horam* added some shells. One of our men was wounded. We fired a few shot from two eighteen pounders, which are placed on Cobble Hill, and soon obliged the ship to shift her station. She now lies in the ferry-way; and, except a few shells from the mount in Boston, which do no execution, we have no interruption in prosecuting our works, which will in a very short time be completed. When that is done, when we have powder to sport with, I think, if Congress resolves on the execution of the proposal made relative to the town of Boston, that it can be done.

I have sent a letter this day to General Howe, of which a copy goes herewith. My reason for pointing out Brigadier-General Prescott as the object, who is to suffer Mr. Allen's fate, is, that, by letters from General Schuyler, and copies of letters from General Montgomery to Schuyler, I am given to understand that Prescott is the cause of Allen's sufferings. I thought it best to be decisive on the occasion, as did the generals whom I consulted thereon.

The returns of men enlisted since my last amount to about eighteen hundred, making in the whole seven thousand one hundred and forty. The militia that are

* A hill on the west side of Boston.

come in, both from this province and New Hampshire, are very fine-looking men, and go through their duty with great alacrity. The despatch made, both by the people in marching and by the legislative powers in complying with my requisition, has given me infinite satisfaction. Your letter of the 8th instant, with the explanatory resolve respecting my calling forth the militia and minute-men, is come to hand; to which I shall pay all due attention. You have removed all the difficulties, which I labored under, about the two battalions of marines. I shall obey the orders of Congress in looking out for proper officers to command that corps.* I make no doubt but, when the money arrives to pay off the arrears and the month's advance, that it will be a great encouragement for the men to enlist.

Enclosed is a letter I lately received from Mr. James Lovell. His case is truly pitiable. I wish some mode could be fallen upon to relieve him from the cruel situation he is now in. I am sensible of the impropriety of exchanging a soldier for a citizen; but there is something so cruelly distressing in regard to this gentleman, that I dare say you will take it under your consideration.† I am, with great respect, &c.

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* By the first resolve of Congress respecting these two battalions of marines, they were to be raised out of the army. Upon the representation of General Washington, that this would cause an interference with his arrangements, it was voted that the marines should be raised in addition to the proposed army. Congress had also empowered the Commander-in-chief to call out the militia in the New England colonies whenever he should find it necessary, and requested those colonies severally to afford him all the assistance in their power to effect this object.

† For the case of Mr. Lovell, see APPENDIX. No. XII.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Cambridge, 18 December, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your favors, the first of the 28th ultimo, and the two last of the 9th instant, with their enclosures, I received. I am happy to hear of your being better, and heartily wish, that you may soon be perfectly recovered from your indisposition.

I should have been very glad, if Mr. Carleton had not made his escape. I trust ere long he will be in our hands, as I think we shall get possession of Quebec.*

I am much concerned for Mr. Allen, and that he should be treated with such severity. I beg that you will have the matter and manner of his treatment strictly inquired into, and transmit me an account of the same, and whether General Prescott was active and instrumental in occasioning it. From your letter, and General Montgomery's to you, I am led to think he was. If so, he is deserving of our particular notice, and should experience some marks of our resentment for his cruelty to this gentleman, and his violation of the rights of humanity. As some of the prisoners have attempted to escape, I doubt not of your giving the necessary orders, that they may be prevented. It is a matter that should be attended to. In a letter from the Reverend Dr. Wheelock, of Dartmouth College, of the 2d instant, I had the following intelligence.

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* "The evening before General Montgomery landed on the island of Montreal, Mr. Carleton embarked his garrison on board of some vessels and small craft, and made two attempts to pass our batteries near the mouth of the Sorel, but was driven back by Colonel Easton, who has behaved with bravery and much alertness. On the 19th, Mr. Carleton, disguised as a Canadian, and accompanied by six peasants, found means to make his escape. Brigadier-General Prescott surrendered next day by capitulation." — *General Schuyler's Letter.*

"That the day before, two soldiers returning from Montreal informed him, that our officers were assured by a Frenchman (a captain of the artillery whom they had taken captive), that Major Rogers was second in command under General Carleton, and that he had been in an Indian habit through our encampment at St. John's." You will be pleased to have this report examined into, and acquaint me as to the authenticity or probability of the truth of it. If any circumstances can be discovered to induce a belief, that he was there, he should be apprehended. He is now in this government. *

The Congress have sent me several accounts against the rifle companies, one of which is against Captain Morgan, which I enclose to you, and desire it may be

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* Major Rogers had been celebrated for his adventures and feats of valor in the French war, as the companion of Putnam and Stark. He wrote a journal of those events, which is not without ability and interest. He was once governor of Michillimackinac. After the peace he lived in New Hampshire, and continued an officer on half-pay. Dr. Wheelock's letter, from which the above is an extract, contains some other curious particulars about him; whether true or fabulous, the reader must judge.

"On the 13th ultimo," says Dr. Wheelock, "the famous Major Rogers came to my house, from a tavern in the neighbourhood where he called for refreshment. I had never before seen him. He was in but an ordinary habit for one of his character. He treated me with great respect; said he came from London in July, and had spent twenty days with the Congress in Philadelphia, and I forget how many at New York; had been offered and urged to take a commission in favor of the colonies; but, as he was now on half-pay from the crown, he thought proper not to accept it; that he had fought two battles in Algiers under the Dey; that he was now on a design to take care of some large grants of land made to him; that he was going to visit his sister at Moor's Town, and then to return by Merrimac River to visit his wife, whom he had not yet seen since his return from England; that he had got a pass, or license to travel, from the Continental Congress; that he called to offer his services to procure a large interest for this college; that the reputation of it was great in England; that Lord Dartmouth and many other noblemen had spoken of it in his hearing, with expressions of the highest esteem and respect; that Captain Holland, surveyor-general, now at New York, was a great friend to me

transmitted to Colonel Arnold, who will have proper steps taken for the payment of it, as Captain Morgan is with him. I am, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Cambridge, 24 December, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 15th instant came yesterday to hand, with copies and extracts of your late letters to Congress. I have with great attention perused them. I am very sorry to find by several paragraphs, that both you and General Montgomery incline to quit the service. Let me ask you, Sir, when is the time for brave men to exert themselves in the cause of liberty and their country, if this is not? Should any difficulties,

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and the college, and would assist me in the affair; and that now was the most favorable time to apply for a large grant of lands for it.

"I thanked him for these expressions of his kindness; but, after I had shown some coldness in accepting it, he proposed to write to me on his journey, and let me know where I might reply to him; and he should be ready to perform any friendly office in the affair. He said he was in haste to pursue his journey that evening."

About a month after visiting Dr. Wheelock, the Major appeared at Medford, near the camp, and wrote to General Washington requesting him to sign a certificate permitting him to travel unmolested in the country. Such a certificate or permit had been first granted by the Committee of Safety in Philadelphia, who, from suspicious circumstances, and because he was actually a British officer, had made him a prisoner, when he arrived in that place from England. The certificate was furnished to him in consequence of a parole, wherein he "solemnly promised and engaged on the honor of a gentleman and soldier, that he would not bear arms against the American United Colonies in any manner whatsoever, during the American contest with Great Britain;" and in his letter to Washington, he says, "I love America; it is my native country and that of my family, and I intend to spend the evening of my days in it." These professions being apparently sincere, Washington sent General Sullivan to examine him on certain points, and report the result. He owned the accuracy of

that they may have to encounter at this important crisis, deter them? God knows, there is not a difficulty, that you both very justly complain of, which I have not in an eminent degree experienced, that I am not every day experiencing; but we must bear up against them, and make the best of mankind as they are, since we cannot have them as we wish. Let me, therefore, conjure you and Mr. Montgomery to lay aside such thoughts, — thoughts injurious to yourselves, and extremely so to your country, which calls aloud for gentlemen of your abilities.

You mention in your letter to Congress of the 20th ultimo, that the clothing was to remain at Albany, as General Montgomery would provide the troops in Canada. I wish they could be spared for this army, for we cannot get clothing for half of our troops. Let me hear from you on this subject as soon as possible.

The proofs you have of the ministry's intention to engage the savages against us are incontrovertible. We have other confirmations of it, by several despatches from John Stuart, the superintendent for the southern

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Dr. Wheelock's letter, except the part relating to Canada, which he denied, though he had been to the west of Albany. As no good reason appeared why he came to camp, or why he wished to travel through the country, the General did not think it expedient to receive a visit from him, nor to sign his permit; but as this had already been signed by the President of the New York Congress, and the Chairman of the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, he suffered the Major to depart at his option, and to enjoy such security as his papers, thus authenticated, might procure him.

There was a suspicion, strengthened by his subsequent conduct, that he was at this time a spy, or at least practising a very unworthy artifice for acquiring a confidence, to which his political sentiments did not entitle him. Be this as it may, he soon after joined the enemy's ranks, and was raised to be a colonel in the British army, notwithstanding his parole of honor, and his love of America. It may be said, perhaps, in extenuation, that he considered his parole extorted from him at a time, when there were no just grounds for questioning his motives, and by an authority, which he did not feel bound to respect.

district, which luckily fell into my hands, being found on board a sloop, sent by Lord Dunmore, bound to Boston. She was taken by one of our armed vessels. These, with many letters of consequence from his Lordship, I have lately sent to the Congress.

I hope soon to hear, that Colonel Knox has made good progress in forwarding the artillery.* It is much wanted for the works we have lately thrown up. I have written a letter, of the 18th instant, to General Howe respecting Mr. Allen, of which and the answer you have copies enclosed. I am, with great regard, Sir, yours, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 25 December, 1775.

SIR,

I had the honor to address myself to you on the 19th instant, since which I have received undoubted information, that the genuine instructions given to Connolly have not reached your hands; that they are very art-

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* Colonel Knox had many obstacles to contend against in executing his charge, on account of the lateness of the season, and badness of the roads. By extraordinary energy and perseverance, however, which were marked traits of his character, he overcame them all, and effected his purpose. He wrote as follows to General Washington, from the head of Lake George, on the 17th of December.

"I returned from Ticonderoga to this place on the 15th instant, and brought with me the cannon, it having taken nearly the time I conjectured it would to transport them hither. It is not easy to conceive the difficulties we have had in getting them over the Lake, owing to the advanced season of the year and contrary winds. Three days ago, it was very uncertain whether we could get them over until next spring, but now, please God, they shall go. I have made forty-two exceedingly strong sleds, and have provided eighty yoke of oxen to drag them as far as Springfield, where I shall get fresh cattle to take them to camp."

fully concealed in the tree of his saddle, and covered with canvass so nicely, that they are scarcely discernible; that those, which were found upon him, were intended to deceive, if he was caught. You will most certainly have his saddle taken to pieces, in order to discover this deep-laid plot.*

Enclosed is a copy of General Howe's letter in answer to the one I wrote to him on the 18th instant. The conduct I am to observe towards Brigadier Prescott, in consequence of these letters, the Congress will oblige me by determining for me. The gentlemen by whom you sent the money are arrived. The sum they brought, though large, is not sufficient to answer the demands of the army, which at this time are remarkably heavy. There is three months' pay due, one month's advance, two dollars for each blanket, the arms, that are left by those who are dismissed, to be paid for, besides the

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* John Connolly was a physician, and had resided for several years at Pittsburg. General Washington had known him there, and a correspondence had been carried on between them respecting lands and affairs in the west. At the beginning of the war, Connolly took the side of Lord Dunmore, and a project was concerted between them to stir up the Indians on the frontiers of Virginia, and induce them to act against the colonies. For some purpose towards promoting the execution of the scheme, Connolly visited General Gage in Boston, and returned thence to Virginia, where he remained about ten days with Lord Dunmore, and then set off for the Ohio, with two companions. Near Hagarstown, in Maryland, they were stopped on suspicion, and brought back to Frederic Town. Their papers were examined and the plot discovered.

It appeared, that Connolly had been appointed to the command of a regiment, which was to be raised in the western country and Canada. He was now on his way to Detroit, and, as soon as the forces could be collected, he was to enter Virginia, march to Alexandria in the spring, and meet there Lord Dunmore at the head of a naval armament and another body of troops. With these combined forces they were to act as circumstances should require.

The committee at Frederic Town sent Connolly's papers to Congress, and he was himself immediately ordered to Philadelphia, where he was imprisoned for more than a year, and then was sent to a jail in Baltimore. He was afterwards allowed to go abroad within certain limits, on his pa-

demands, on the commissary and quartermaster-generals. You will, therefore, see the necessity of another remittance, which I beg may be as soon as you conveniently can. I will take the opportunity of the return of these gentlemen, to send Colonel Kirkland to you for examination, and that you may dispose of him as to you may seem proper.

A committee from the General Court of this province called on me the other day, informing me that they were in great want of ordnance for the defence of the colony; that, if what belonged to them, now in use here, was kept for the continent, they should be under the necessity of providing themselves with other; of course, what is kept must be paid for. There are many of the cannon of very little use; such of them as are good, I cannot at present part with; perhaps when I receive the supply from New York and Canada, it may be in my power to spare them.

We have made good progress in the works on Lechmere's Point. They would have been finished ere this, but for the severity of the weather, which prevents our people from working. I received a letter from Governor Cooke, which expresses the fears of the people of Rhode Island, lest the ships, which we had information had sailed with some troops on board, were destined for Newport. I sent Major-General Lee there, to point out to them such defence as he may think the place ca-

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role, but he was held a prisoner till near the close of the war. He wrote several times to General Washington, complaining of his hardships, but the General declined interfering, as he claimed no control over the prisoners of Congress. Indeed, it may be added, that Washington seldom manifested any sympathy for characters of this description. Prisoners taken in honorable warfare he always regarded with feelings of delicacy and kindness; but he rarely betrayed symptoms of compassion or favor for a man, who had indicated a disposition unfriendly to the cause of his country.

pable of. I sincerely wish he may be able to do it with effect, as that place, in its present state, is an asylum for such as are disaffected to American liberty.* Our returns of enlistments, to this day, amount to eight thousand five hundred men. I have the honor to be, &c.

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 25 December, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

At the same time that I thank you for stopping visitors in search of preferment, it will give me pleasure to show civilities to others of your recommendation. Indeed no gentleman, that is not well known, ought to come here without letters of introduction, as it puts me in an awkward situation with respect to my conduct towards them.

I do not very much understand a paragraph in your letter, which seems to be taken from mine to Colonel Hancock, expressive of the unwillingness of the Connecticut troops to be deemed Continental. There is no expression in any of my letters, that I can either recollect or find, that has a tendency that way; further than their unwillingness to have officers of other governments mixed in their corps, in which they are not sin-

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* Intelligence had been received from Boston, that eight large ships and two small ones sailed out of the harbour on the 16th. Four days afterwards General Lee set off for Newport, attended by a guard and a party of riflemen. He went and returned through Providence, and was absent from camp ten days. Besides giving directions respecting the fortifications and other means of defence at Newport, he called before him several obnoxious persons, and tendered to them the oath of fidelity to the country. Two custom-house officers and another person, refusing to take the oath, were put under guard and sent to Providence.

gular, as the same partiality runs through the whole. I have in some measure anticipated the desires of the Connecticut delegates, by a kind of representation to each of the New England governments of the impracticability of raising our complement of men by voluntary enlistments, and submitting to their consideration, whether, if the powers of government are sufficiently coercive, each town should not be called upon for a proportionate number of recruits. What they will do in the matter remains to be known. The militia, who have supplied the places of the Connecticut regiments, behave much better than I expected they would under our want of wood, barracks, and blankets. With these men, and such as are reënlisted, I shall hope, if they will be vigilant and spirited, to give the enemy a warm reception, if they think proper to come out. Our want of powder is inconceivable. A daily waste and no supply present a gloomy prospect. I fear the detention of the vessels from your port is so generally known, as to defeat the end. Two men-of-war, it is said, put in to New York the other day, and were immediately ordered out, supposed for Virginia.

I am so much indebted for the civilities shown to Mrs. Washington on her journey hither, that I hardly know how to acknowledge them. Some of the enclosed (all of which I beg the favor of you to put into the post-office) are directed to that end, and I shall be obliged to you for presenting my thanks to the commanding officers of the two battalions of Philadelphia for the honor done to her and me, as also to any others, equally entitled. I very sincerely offer you the compliments of the season, and wish you and Mrs. Reed, and your fireside, the happy return of many of them, being, dear Sir, yours, &c.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Cambridge, 26 December, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 6th instant did not reach this place till Saturday afternoon. The money, which accompanied it, came seasonably, but not, as it was so long delayed, *quantum sufficit*, our demands at this time being peculiarly great for pay and advance to the troops; pay for their arms and blanketing, independent of the demands of the commissary and quartermaster general.

Lord Dunmore's letters to General Howe, which very fortunately fell into my hands, and were enclosed by me to Congress, will let you pretty fully into his diabolical schemes. If, my dear Sir, that man is not crushed before spring, he will become the most formidable enemy America has; his strength will increase as a snow ball, by rolling; and faster, if some expedient cannot be hit upon to convince the slaves and servants of the impotency of his designs.* You will see by his letters, what pains he is taking to invite a reinforcement at all events there, and to transplant the war to the southern colonies. I do not think, that forcing his Lordship on shipboard is sufficient; nothing less than depriving him of life or liberty will secure peace to Virginia, as motives of resentment actuate his conduct, to a degree equal to the total destruction of the colony. I fear the destination of the naval armament at Philadelphia is too well known to answer the design.† I have heard it spoken

* Lord Dunmore had issued a proclamation, declaring "all indented servants, negroes, or others (appertaining to rebels) free," and calling on them to join his Majesty's troops.

† Congress had instructed the Naval Committee, on the 2d of December, to procure and fit out armed vessels, for the purpose of taking and destroying the vessels and cutters under Lord Dunmore in the Chesapeake Bay.

of in common conversation, at this place, near a fortnight ago; and the other day was told, that two men-of-war, going into the harbour of New York, supposed to be those intended for the relief of the Asia, were ordered and accordingly sailed immediately out, as it is imagined for Virginia.

My letters to Congress will give you the occurrences of this place. I need not repeat them, but I must beg of you, my good Sir, to use your influence in having a court of admiralty, or some power appointed to hear and determine all matters relative to captures; you cannot conceive how I am plagued on this head, and how impossible it is for me to hear and determine upon matters of this sort, when the facts, perhaps, are only to be ascertained at ports, forty, fifty, or more miles distant, without bringing the parties here at great trouble and expense. At any rate, my time will not allow me to be a competent judge of this business. I must also beg the favor of you, to urge the necessity of appointing a brigadier-general to the vacant brigade in this army. The inconvenience we daily experience for want of one is very great; much more than the want of a colonel to a regiment, for then the next officer in command does the duty; in a brigade this may not with propriety happen, and seldom or never is done with any kind of regularity. Perfectly indifferent is it to me, whom the Congress shall please to appoint to these offices; I only want it done, that business may go regularly on. My best respects to the good family you are in, and to your brothers of the delegation; and be assured, that I am, dear Sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 31 December, 1775.

SIR,

I wrote you on the 25th instant, since which I am not honored with any of your favors. The estimate I then enclosed to you was calculated to pay the troops up to the 1st of January. That cannot be done for want of funds in the paymaster-general's hands, which causes a great murmuring amongst those who are going off. The monthly expenses of this army amount to near two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, which I take the liberty of recommending to the observation of Congress, that their future remittances may be governed thereby.

Enclosed you have a copy of a representation sent to me by the legislative body of this province respecting four companies stationed at Braintree, Weymouth, and Hingham. As they were never regimented, and were doing duty at a distance from the rest of the army, I did not know whether to consider them as a part of it; nor do I think myself authorized to direct payment for them without the approbation of Congress.

It has been represented to me, that the free negroes, who have served in this army, are very much dissatisfied at being discarded. As it is to be apprehended, that they may seek employ in the ministerial army, I have presumed to depart from the resolution respecting them, and have given license for their being enlisted. If this is disapproved of by Congress, I will put a stop to it.*

* At a meeting of the general officers, previously to the arrival of the committee from Congress in camp, it was unanimously resolved, that it was not expedient to enlist slaves in the new army, and by a large majority negroes of every description were excluded from enlistment. When the

I believe Colonel Gridley expects to be continued as chief engineer in this army. It is very certain we have no one here better qualified. I must remark, that the pay of the assistant engineers is so very small, that we cannot expect men of science will engage in it. Those gentlemen, who are in that station, remained under the expectation, that an allowance would be made to them by the respective provinces in which they were appointed, additional to that allowed by the Congress. Captain Freeman arrived this day at camp from Canada. He left Quebec the 24th ultimo, in consequence of General Carleton's proclamation, which I have the honor to send you herewith. He saw Colonel Arnold the 26th, and says that he was joined at Point aux Trembles by General Montgomery, the 1st instant; that they were about two thousand strong, and were making every preparation for attacking Quebec; that General Carleton had with him about twelve hundred men, the majority of whom are sailors; that it was his opinion the French would give up the place, if they get the same conditions, that were granted to the inhabitants of Montreal.

Captains Semple and Harbeson take under their care Mr. Kirkland. Captain Matthews and Mr. Robinson will accompany them. The two latter were taken prisoners by Lord Dunmore, who was sending them to Boston, from whence there is little doubt, but they would be forwarded to England, to which place I am credibly informed Captain Martindale and the crew of the Washingtoñ are sent; also Colonel Allen, and the prisoners taken with him in Canada. This may account for

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subject was referred to the committee in conference, this decision was confirmed. In regard to free negroes, however, the resolve was not adhered to, and probably for the reason here mentioned by General Washington. Many black soldiers were in the service, during all stages of the war.

General Howe's silence on the subject of an exchange of prisoners mentioned in my letter to him.

General Lee is just returned from his excursion to Rhode Island. He has pointed out the best method the island would admit of for its defence. He has endeavoured all in his power to make friends of those that were our enemies. You have, enclosed, a specimen of his abilities in that way, for your perusal. I am of opinion that, if the same plan was pursued through every province it would have a very good effect.

I have long had it on my mind to mention to Congress, that frequent applications had been made to me respecting the chaplains' pay, which is too small to encourage men of abilities. Some of them, who have left their flocks, are obliged to pay the parson acting for them more than they receive. I need not point out the great utility of gentlemen, whose lives and conversation are unexceptionable, being employed for that service in this army. There are two ways of making it worth the attention of such; one is an advancement of their pay; the other, that one chaplain be appointed to two regiments. This last, I think, may be done without inconvenience. I beg leave to recommend this matter to Congress, whose sentiments hereon I shall impatiently expect.

Upon a farther conversation with Captain Freeman, he is of opinion, that General Montgomery has with him near three thousand men including Colonel Arnold's. He says that Lord Pitt had received repeated orders from his father to return home; in consequence of which, he had embarked some time in October, with a Captain Greene, who was master of a vessel belonging to Philadelphia. By a number of salutes in Boston harbour yesterday, I fancy Admiral Shuldham is arrived. Two large ships were seen coming in. Our enlistments now amount to nine thousand six hundred and fifty.

Those gentlemen, who were made prisoners by Lord Dunmore, being left destitute of money and necessaries, I have advanced them a hundred pounds lawful money belonging to the public, for which I have taken Captain Matthews's draft on the treasury of Virginia, which goes enclosed. I have the honor to be, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 4 January, 1776.

SIR,

Since my last of the 31st ultimo, I have been honored with your favor of the 22d, enclosing sundry resolves, which shall, in matters they respect, be made the rule of my conduct. The resolution relative to the troops in Boston, I beg the favor of you, Sir, to assure Congress, shall be attempted to be put in execution the first moment I see a probability of success, and in such a way as a council of officers shall think most likely to produce it; but if this should not happen as soon as you may expect, or my wishes prompt, I request that Congress will be pleased to advert to my situation, and do me the justice to believe, that circumstances, and not want of inclination, are the cause of delay.*

It is not in the pages of history, perhaps, to furnish a

* On the 22d of December, Congress resolved, "That if General Washington and his council of war should be of opinion, that a successful attack may be made on the troops in Boston, he do it in any manner he may think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it may be destroyed." In communicating this resolve, President Hancock wrote; —"You will notice the resolution relative to an attack upon Boston. This passed after a most serious debate in a committee of the whole house, and the execution was referred to you. May God crown your attempt with success. I most heartily wish it, though individually I may be the greatest sufferer." President Hancock possessed a valuable property in Boston.

case like ours. To maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy, for six months together, without* , and at the same time to disband one army, and recruit another, within that distance of twenty-odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted. But if we succeed as well in the last, as we have heretofore in the first, I shall think it the most fortunate event of my whole life.

By a very intelligent gentleman, a Mr. Hutchinson from Boston, I learn, that it was Admiral Shuldham that came into the harbour on Saturday last; that two of the five regiments from Cork are arrived at Halifax; two others have sailed for Quebec, but what was become of them could not be told; and the other, the fifty-fifth, has just got into Boston. Certain it is, also, that the greater part of the seventeenth regiment is arrived there. Whether we are to conclude from hence, that more than five regiments have been sent out, or that the companies of the seventeenth, arrived at Boston, are part of the regiments destined for Halifax and Quebec, I know not.

We also learn from this gentleman and others, that the troops, embarked for Halifax, as mentioned in my letter of the 16th, were really designed for that place, but recalled from Nantasket Road, upon advice being received of the above regiments there. I am also informed of a fleet now getting ready, under the convoy of the Scarborough and Fowey men-of-war, consisting of five transports and two bomb-vessels, with about three hundred marines, and several flat-bottomed boats. It is whispered, that they are designed for Newport, but generally thought in Boston that they are meant for

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* Left blank in the original to guard against the danger of miscarriage. Read, "*without powder.*"

Long Island; and it is probable they will be followed by more troops, as the other transports are taking in water, to lie, as others say, in Nantasket Road, to be out of the ice. A large quantity of biscuit is also baking.

As the real design cannot with certainty be known, I submit it with all due deference to the superior judgment of Congress, whether it would not be consistent with prudence to have some of the Jersey troops thrown into New York, to prevent an evil, which would be almost irremediable, should it happen, I mean the landing of troops at that place, or upon Long Island near it.* As it is possible you may not yet have received his Majesty's "*most gracious*" speech, I do myself the honor to enclose one of many, which were sent out of Boston yesterday. It is full of rancor and resentment against us, and explicitly holds forth his royal will to be, that vigorous measures must be pursued, to deprive us of our constitutional rights and liberties. These meas-

* The British commander had no design of taking immediate possession of Rhode Island or New York, as we have seen by former references to his correspondence, although both these purposes were in prospect. The forces, that sailed from Boston, in the month of January, under command of General Clinton, were bound to North Carolina, with the intention to join Lord Cornwallis in a grand enterprise against that colony, which the ministry had planned several months before, in consequence of the reports and solicitation of Governor Martin. It was supposed, that there would be a general rising among the loyalists in that country, when supported by a formidable force, and supplied with arms, and thus a secure hold would be gained on all the southern provinces. The affair turned out to be a signal failure, as did most of those undertaken at the suggestion of the colonial governors and zealous partisans of the crown, whose wishes and hopes betrayed them into a deplorable ignorance of the state of the country and character of the people.

On the 13th of December, Governor Tryon wrote a letter to General Howe, dated on board his Majesty's ship Duchess of Gordon, in the harbour of New York, informing him, that the spirit of rebellion was decreasing in that colony, and that five thousand regular troops only were wanting to restore commerce and the old government; that many counties were well

ures, whatever they be, I hope will be opposed by more vigorous ones, and rendered unavailing and fruitless, though sanctioned and authorized by the name of majesty, a name which ought to promote the happiness of his people, and not their oppression.

I am, Sir, &c.

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 4 January, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

We are at length favored with a sight of his Majesty's most gracious speech, breathing sentiments of tenderness and compassion for his deluded American subjects; the echo is not yet come to hand; but we know what it must be, and as Lord North said, and we ought to have believed and acted accordingly, we now know the ultimatum of British justice. The speech I send

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affected, and in others were friends, who called for protection from the insults of the insurgents. If General Clinton, or some other officer, would come with a suitable force, Governor Tryon was ready to take the field under him, and believed he could collect a body of two or three thousand loyalists, provided he were authorized to put them on the establishment of regulars. At all events, he requested three thousand firearms, and one hundred thousand cartridges; but, in his present condition, he saw no prospect of getting ashore to resume his government.

General Howe replied, that it was impossible to send the force required at that time, as the army in Boston could not be divided, but he might expect the earliest assistance in the spring. Meantime he advised, that the willingness of the friends of the crown to take up arms should not be known, but rather that the insurgents should receive the impression of their neutrality, or even of their being dissatisfied with the government, since no troops had been sent to their support. In this idea he declined forwarding the arms and ammunition, because such a step, before they could be used, would only serve to alarm the insurgents. If it could be supposed possible to gain and keep possession of New York, with the force desired, it should be despatched without delay; but of such a result there could be no just hope. — *MS. Letters.*

you. A volume of them was sent out by the Boston gentry, and, farcical enough, we gave great joy to them, without knowing or intending it; for on that day, the day which gave being to the new army, but before the proclamation came to hand, we had hoisted the union flag in compliment to the United Colonies. But, behold, it was received in Boston as a token of the deep impression the speech had made upon us, and as a signal of submission. So we hear by a person out of Boston last night. By this time I presume they begin to think it strange, that we have not made a formal surrender of our lines.

Admiral Shuldham is arrived at Boston. The fifty-fifth and the greater part, if not all, of the seventeenth regiment, are also arrived. The rest of the five regiments from Ireland were intended for Halifax and Quebec.

It is easier to conceive than to describe the situation of my mind for some time past, and my feelings under our present circumstances. Search the volumes of history through, and I much question whether a case similar to ours is to be found; namely, to maintain a post against the flower of the British troops for six months together, without powder, and then to have one army disbanded and another to be raised within the same distance of a reinforced enemy. It is too much to attempt. What may be the final issue of the last manœuvre, time only can unfold. I wish this month was well over our heads. The same desire of retiring into a chimney-corner seized the troops of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, so soon as their time expired, as had wrought upon those of Connecticut, notwithstanding many of them made a tender of their services to continue, till the lines could be sufficiently strengthened. We are now left with a good deal less than half raised regiments, and about five thousand

militia, who only stand engaged to the middle of this month; when, according to custom, they will depart, let the necessity of their stay be ever so urgent. Thus, for more than two months past, I have scarcely emerged from one difficulty before I have been plunged into another. How it will end, God in his great goodness will direct. I am thankful for his protection to this time. We are told that we shall soon get the army completed, but I have been told so many things, which have never come to pass, that I distrust every thing.

I fear your fleet has been so long in fitting, and the destination of it so well known, that the end will be defeated, if the vessels escape.* How is the arrival of French troops in the West Indies, and the hostile appearance there, to be reconciled with that part of the King's speech, wherein he assures Parliament, "that as well from the assurances I have received, as from the general appearance of affairs in Europe, I see no probability that the measures, which you may adopt, will be interrupted by disputes with any foreign power?" I hope the Congress will not think of adjourning at so important and critical a juncture as this. I wish they would keep a watchful eye to New York; from the account of Captain Sears, now here, much is to be apprehended from that quarter. I am, with sincere and affectionate regard, &c.

* At this time Governor Tryon, who was on ship-board in the harbour of New York, had spies in Philadelphia, who informed him of every occurrence. They even obtained extracts from the journals of Congress, wrote down the resolves, the appointment and doings of committees, the opinions of many of the delegates, their conversations, projects, and aims, all of which were forwarded through Governor Tryon and General Howe to the British ministry. In this way General Howe was made acquainted with the details of the fitting out of the fleet at Philadelphia, about to sail under Commodore Hopkins. Each vessel was minutely described, with the number of guns, weight of metal, number of men, names of the officers, and other particulars.

TO GOVERNOR COOKE.

Cambridge, 6 January, 1776.

SIR,

I received your favor of the 1st instant, and return you my thanks for the blankets and your promise of having more procured, as they are wanted. I did not see Mr. Hale, who brought them, nor the account, or the money should have been transmitted to you by his return. You will be pleased to draw on the quarter-master-general, and it shall be immediately paid. I have seen General Lee since his expedition, and hope Rhode Island will derive some advantage from it.

I am told that Captain Wallace's ships have been supplied for some time by the town of Newport, on certain conditions stipulated between him and the committee. When this truce first obtained, perhaps it was right. Then there might have been hopes of an accommodation taking place; but now, when every prospect of it seems to be cut off by his Majesty's late speech; when the throne, from which we had supplicated redress, breathes forth vengeance and indignation, and a firm determination to remain unalterable in its purposes, and to prosecute the system and plan of ruin formed by the ministry against us, should not an end be put to it, and every possible method be fallen upon to prevent their getting necessaries of any kind? We need not expect to conquer our enemies by good offices; and I know not what pernicious consequences may result from a precedent of this sort. Other places, circumstanced as Newport is, may follow the example, and by that means their whole fleet and army will be furnished with what it highly concerns us to keep from them.

I received a letter from Governor Trumbull of the

1st instant, by which I am informed, that the Connecticut Assembly are very unanimous in the common cause; and, among other acts have passed one for raising and equipping a fourth of their militia, to be immediately selected by voluntary enlistments; with such other able, effective men, as are not included in their militia rolls, who incline to enlist, to act as minute-men for the defence of their own, or any of the United Colonies, and this under proper encouragements;—another act for restraining and punishing persons inimical to us, and directing proceedings therein;—no person to supply the ministerial army or navy, to give them intelligence, to enlist, or procure others to enlist, in their service, to pilot their vessels, or in any other way assist them, under pain of forfeiting his estate, and of an imprisonment not exceeding three years;—none to write, speak, or act against the proceedings of Congress, or their acts of Assembly, under penalty of being disarmed, and disqualified from holding any office, and be further punished by imprisonment;—another act for seizing and confiscating, for the use of the colony, the estates of those putting or continuing to shelter themselves under the protection of the ministerial fleet or army, or assisting them in carrying on their measures against us;—a resolve to provide two armed vessels, of sixteen and fourteen guns, with a spy-schooner of four, and four row-galleys;—an act exempting the polls of soldiers from taxes, for the last and ensuing campaigns;—another for encouraging the making of saltpetre and gunpowder, a considerable quantity of both of which Mr. Trumbull hopes to make early in the spring. He says the furnace at Middletown is smelting lead, and likely to turn out twenty or thirty tons, and that ore is plenty. They have also passed an act empowering the Commander-in-chief of the Continental army, or officers

commanding a detachment, or outposts, to administer an oath and swear any person or persons to the truth of matters relative to the public service. The situation of our affairs seems to call for regulations like these, and I should think the other colonies ought to adopt similar ones, or such of them as they have not already made. Vigorous ones, and such as at another time would appear extraordinary, are now become absolutely necessary, for preserving our country against the strides of tyranny making against it.

Governor Trumbull, in his list, has not mentioned an act for impressing carriages, agreeably to the recommendation of Congress. This, I hope, they have not forgotten. It is highly necessary, that such an authority should be given, under proper restrictions, or we shall be greatly embarrassed, whenever the army, or any detachment from it, may find it necessary to march from hence. I am, Sir, with very great esteem, &c.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

Cambridge, 7 January, 1776.

SIR,

You will excuse me for reminding you of our conversation the other evening, when I informed you, that General Lee's departure for New York is advisable upon the plan of his letter, and, under the circumstances I then mentioned, ought not to be delayed. In giving me your opinion of this matter, I have no doubt of your taking a comprehensive view of it; that is, you will not only consider the propriety of the measure, but of the execution; and whether such a step, though right in itself, may not be looked upon as beyond my line.

If it could be made convenient and agreeable to you

to dine with me to-day, I shall be very glad of your company, and we can then talk the matter over at large. Please to forward General Lee's letter to me.

I am, &c.*

TO MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES LEE.†

Instructions.

SIR,

Having undoubted intelligence of the fitting out of a fleet at Boston, and of the embarkation of troops from

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* General Lee was just returned to camp from Newport, and had written to the Commander-in-chief;—"New York must be secured, but it will never, I am afraid, be secured by due order of the Congress, for obvious reasons. They find themselves awkwardly situated on this head. You must step in to their relief. I am sensible, that no men can be spared from the lines, under present circumstances; but I would propose that you should detach me into Connecticut, and lend your name for collecting a body of volunteers. I am assured that I shall find no difficulty in assembling a sufficient number for the purposes wanted. This body, in conjunction (if there should appear occasion to summon them) with the Jersey regiment, under the command of Lord Stirling now at Elizabethtown, will effect the security of New York, and the expulsion or suppression of that dangerous banditti of tories, who have appeared on Long Island with the professed intention of acting against the authority of the Congress. Not to crush these serpents, before their rattles are grown, would be ruinous.

"This manœuvre I not only think prudent and right, but absolutely necessary to our salvation; and if it meets, as I ardently hope it will, with your approbation, the sooner it is entered upon the better; indeed, the delay of a single day may be fatal."

Mr. Adams replied in writing to General Washington's letter, highly approving the plan, and spoke on one point of inquiry as follows.—"That it is within the limits of your Excellency's command, is, in my mind, perfectly clear. Your commission constitutes you Commander of all the forces now raised or to be raised, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof; and you are vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service."

† At the same time, that these instructions were given, General Washington wrote to the Committee of Safety of New York;—"I have thought

thence, which, from the season of the year and other circumstances, must be destined for a southern expedition; and having such information as I can rely on, that the inhabitants, or a great part of them, on Long Island in the colony of New York, are not only inimical to the rights and liberties of America, but, by their conduct and public professions, have discovered a disposition to aid and assist in the reduction of that colony to ministerial tyranny; and as it is a matter of the utmost importance to prevent the enemy from taking possession of the city of New York and the North River, as they will thereby command the country, and the communication with Canada; it is of too much consequence to hazard such a post at so alarming a crisis, since we find by his Majesty's speech to Parliament, that, disregarding the petition of the united voice of America, nothing less than the total subversion of her rights will satisfy him.

You will, therefore, with such volunteers as are willing to join you, and can be expeditiously raised, repair to the city of New York; and calling upon the commanding officer of the forces of New Jersey for such assistance as he can afford, and you shall require, you are to put that city into the best posture of defence, which the season and circumstances will admit, disarming all

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it expedient to despatch Major-General Lee, with such volunteers as he can quickly assemble on his march (for I have not troops to spare from hence, if the distance and time would admit of it), to put the city of New York in the best posture of defence, which the season and circumstances will admit of. To his instructions, which I have desired him to lay before you, I beg leave to refer; firmly persuaded, that your honorable body will give every assistance in their power to facilitate the end of his coming, as there needs no other argument, than a retrospective view of the conduct of the ministerial troops in Boston, and the consequences resulting from it, to prove what a fatal stab it would give to the interests of America, to suffer the city of New York to fall into the hands of our enemies."

such persons upon Long Island and elsewhere, (and if necessary otherwise securing them,) whose conduct and declarations have rendered them justly supected of designs unfriendly to the views of Congress.

You are, also, to inquire into the state and condition of the fortifications up the North River, and as far as shall be consistent with the orders of Congress, or not repugnant to them, to have the works guarded against surprises from a body of men, which might be transported by water near the place, and then marched in upon the back of them.

You will also endeavour to have the medicines, shirts, and blankets, now at New York, belonging to the ministerial troops, secured, and forwarded to this army. Captain Sears can give you particular information concerning them.*

In all other matters relative to the execution of the general plan you are going upon, your own judgment (as it is impossible with propriety to give particular directions), and the advice of those whom you have reason to believe are hearty in the cause, must direct you; keeping always in view the declared intentions of Congress.

I am persuaded I need not recommend despatch in the prosecution of this business. The importance of it alone is a sufficient incitement. I would advise a dismission of the volunteers, whose necessary expenses will be borne, so soon as the service will admit of it; and that you endeavour as much as possible at all times

* Captain Sears had been most zealous and efficient among the *sons of liberty* in New York, and had acted a conspicuous part in that city during the excitements occasioned by the Boston Port-Bill, and afterwards. He had also been a member of the New York Provincial Congress. At this time he was in Washington's camp, and was sent forward in advance of General Lee to promote the raising of volunteers in Connecticut. — See *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. I. pp. 65, 74.

to be in readiness to join the army, if the exigency of our affairs here should call for it. Given under my hand, at Head-Quarters, Cambridge, this 8th day of January, 1776.

TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Cambridge, 10 January, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

The hurry I was in the other day, when your committee did me the honor to present a petition from a person, whose name I have forgotten, wanting to be employed in the Continental army, prevented me from being as full on the subject as I wished.

I shall beg leave, therefore, at this time to add, that I hope your honorable Board will do me the justice to believe, that it will give me pleasure at all times to pay a proper respect to any recommendation coming from them, and that the reason why I do not now encourage such kind of applications, as was then made, is, that the new army was arranged, as near the plan and agreeably to the orders of Congress, although some unavoidable changes and departures have taken place, as it was in my power to effect; and the officers thus constituted were ordered to recruit. Every attempt, therefore, of others not of this appointment must counteract it, and has been of infinite prejudice to the service. They infuse ideas into the minds of the men they have any influence over, that, by engaging with them, or, which is tantamount, not engaging with others, they shall be able to force themselves into the service. Of this we have numberless instances.

I am, therefore, anxious to discourage every attempt of the kind, by convincing such persons, that their en-

gaging a company will not bring them in. If such persons could be once convinced of this, the business of the army would go on more smoothly, and with much more regularity and order. In short, gentlemen, it is scarce possible for me to convey to you a perfect idea of the trouble and vexation I have met with, in getting this matter fixed upon some settled footing. One day an officer would serve; another, he would not, and so on, till I have hardly known what steps to pursue for preserving consistency, and advancing the good of the service, which are the only objects I have in view. I have no friend whom I want to bring in, nor any person with whom I am in the least connected, that I wish to promote. I am, gentlemen, with much esteem, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 11 January, 1776.

SIR,

Every account I have out of Boston confirms the embarkation of troops mentioned in my last, which, from the season of the year and other circumstances, must be destined for some expedition to the southward of this. I have therefore thought it prudent to send Major-General Lee to New York. I have given him letters recommendatory to Governor Trumbull, and to the Committee of Safety at New York. I have good hopes that in Connecticut he will get many volunteers, who, I have some reason to think, will accompany him on this expedition, without more expense to the continent than their maintenance. But should it be otherwise, and should they expect pay, I think it is a trifling consideration, when put in competition with the importance of the object, which is to put the city of New

York, with such parts of the North River and Long Island, as to him shall seem proper, in that state of defence, which the season of the year and circumstances will admit of, so as, if possible, to prevent the enemy from forming a lodgment in that government, which, I am afraid, contains too many persons disaffected to the cause of liberty and America. I have also written to Lord Stirling to give him all the assistance that he can, with the troops under his command in the Continental service, provided it does not interfere with any orders he may receive from Congress relative to them.*

I hope the Congress will approve of my conduct in sending General Lee upon this expedition. I am sure I mean it well, as experience teaches us, that it is much easier to prevent an enemy from posting themselves, than it is to dislodge them after they have got possession. I am, with great respect, &c.

TO COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Cambridge, 12 January, 1776.

SIR,

Your favor of the 5th ultimo from before Quebec, enclosing the returns of your detachment, is come to

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* William Alexander, known by the title of the Earl of Stirling, was born in New York. He served in a military capacity, during the former war, under General Shirley, and passed several years in England. While there, he made a claim to the Scottish earldom of Stirling, which he was believed to have legally established, but the decision of the House of Lords was unfavorable. By courtesy, however, the title was always afterwards granted to him. On his return to America, he took up his residence in New Jersey. He was by Congress appointed colonel of the first battalion of New Jersey troops, on the 7th of November, 1775, and in March following was raised to the rank of brigadier-general. A brief and well written sketch of the life of Lord Stirling may be found in Sedgwick's *Memoir of the Life of William Livingston*, p. 213.

hand. From the account you give of the garrison, and the state of the walls, I expect soon to hear from you within them, which will give me vast pleasure.

I am informed that there are large quantities of arms, blankets, clothing, and other military stores in that city. These are articles, which we are in great want of here; I have, therefore, written to General Montgomery, or whoever is commanding officer in that quarter, to send me as many as can be spared from thence. If you can assist in expediting them, you will much oblige me.

I understand that the Congress have it under their consideration to raise an army for the defence of Canada, on a new establishment. When I received this information, I applied to Congress to know whether it was their intention, that you and the officers in your detachment were to be appointed there, or remain as you were appointed in this army as newly arranged; to which I have not yet received their answer.

The want of so many good officers is felt here, especially in the recruiting service, which does not go on so briskly as I could wish. I think it will be best for you to settle for the arrearages, due to your men since October last, with the paymaster of the army at your place. I do not know any better way for you or them to receive it. I am, Sir, yours, &c.*

* The following order, issued by General Howe, presents a somewhat curious picture of the habits and appearance of the soldiers under his command in Boston.

"The commanding officer is surprised to find the necessity of repeating orders, that long since ought to have been complied with, as the men on all duties appear in the following manner, viz. hair not smooth and badly powdered, several without slings to their firelocks, hats not bound, pouches in a shameful and dirty condition, no frills to their shirts, and their linen very dirty, leggings hanging in a slovenly manner about their knees, some men without uniform stocks, and their arms and accoutrements by no means so clean as they ought to be. These unsoldierlike

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 14 January, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

The bearer presents an opportunity to me of acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 30th ultimo, which never came to my hands till last night, and, if I have not done it before, of your other letter of the 23d preceding.

The hints you have communicated from time to time not only deserve, but do most sincerely and cordially meet with my thanks. You cannot render a more acceptable service, nor in my estimation give me a more convincing proof of your friendship, than by a free, open, and undisguised account of every matter relative to myself or conduct. I can bear to hear of imputed or real errors. The man, who wishes to stand well in the opinion of others, must do this; because he is thereby enabled to correct his faults, or remove the prejudices which are imbibed against him. For this reason, I shall thank you for giving me the opinions of the world, upon such points as you know me to be interested in; for, as I have but one capital object in view, I could wish to make my conduct coincide with the wishes of mankind, as far as I can consistently; I mean, without departing from that great line of duty, which, though hid under a cloud for some time, from a pe-

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neglects must be immediately remedied." — *General Howe's Orderly Book, January 13th.*

In this state of discipline it required some assurance in General Howe to write to Lord Dartmouth, as he did a short time before; — "We are not under the least apprehension of an attack upon this place from the rebels by surprise or otherwise, as taken notice of in your Lordship's letter; on the contrary, it were to be wished, that they would attempt so rash a step, and quit those strong intrenchments to which they may attribute their present safety."

culiarity of circumstances, may nevertheless bear a scrutiny.

My constant attention to the great and perplexing objects, which continually rise to my view, absorbs all lesser considerations, and indeed scarcely allows me to reflect, that there is such a body in existence as the General Court of this colony, but when I am reminded of it by a committee; nor can I, upon recollection, discover in what instances (I wish they would be more explicit) I have been inattentive to, or slighted them. They could not, surely, conceive that there was a propriety in unbosoming the secrets of an army to them; that it was necessary to ask their opinion of throwing up an intrenchment, or forming a battalion. It must, therefore, be what I before hinted to you; and how to remedy it I hardly know, as I am acquainted with few of the members, never go out of my own lines, nor see any of them in them.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear, that your little fleet has been shut in by the frost. I hope it has sailed ere this, and given you some proof of the utility of it, and enabled the Congress to bestow a little more attention to the affairs of this army, which suffers exceedingly by their overmuch business, or too little attention to it. We are now without any money in our treasury, powder in our magazines, or arms in our stores. We are without a brigadier (the want of whom has been twenty times urged), engineers, expresses (though a committee has been appointed these two months to establish them), and by and by, when we shall be called upon to take the field, shall not have a tent to lie in. Apropos, what is doing with mine?

These are evils, but small in comparison of those, which disturb my present repose. Our enlistments are at a stand; the fears I ever entertained are realized;

that is, the *discontented officers* (for I do not know how else to account for it) have thrown such difficulties or stumbling-blocks in the way of recruiting, that I no longer entertain a hope of completing the army by voluntary enlistments, and I see no move or likelihood to do it by other means. In the two last weeks we have enlisted but about a thousand men; whereas I was confidently led to believe, by all the officers I conversed with, that we should by this time have had the regiments nearly completed. Our total number upon paper amounts to about ten thousand five hundred; but as a large portion of these are returned *not joined*, I never expect to receive them, as an ineffectual order has once issued to call them in. Another is now gone forth, peremptorily requiring all officers under pain of being cashiered, and recruits of being treated as deserters, to join their respective regiments by the 1st day of next month, that I may know my real strength; but if my fears are not imaginary, I shall have a dreadful account of the advanced month's pay. In consequence of the assurances given, and my expectation of having at least men enough enlisted to defend our lines, to which may be added my unwillingness to burthen the cause with unnecessary expense, no relief of militia has been ordered in, to supply the places of those, who are released from their engagements to-morrow, and as to whom, though many have promised to continue out the month, there is no security for their stay.

Thus am I situated with respect to men. With regard to arms I am yet worse off. Before the dissolution of the old army, I issued an order directing three judicious men of each brigade to attend, review, and appraise the good arms of every regiment; and finding a very great unwillingness in the men to part with their arms, at the same time not having it in my power to pay

them for the months of November and December, I threatened severely, that every soldier, who should carry away his firelock without leave, should never receive pay for those months; yet so many have been carried off, partly by stealth, but chiefly as condemned, that we have not at this time one hundred guns in the stores, of all that have been taken in the prize-ship and from the soldiery, notwithstanding our regiments are not half complete. At the same time I am told, and believe it, that to restrain the enlistment to men with arms, you will get but few of the former, and still fewer of the latter, which would be good for any thing.

How to get furnished I know not. I have applied to this and the neighbouring colonies, but with what success time only can tell. The reflection on my situation, and that of this army, produces many an unhappy hour when all around me are wrapped in sleep. Few people know the predicament we are in, on a thousand accounts; fewer still will believe, if any disaster happens to these lines, from what cause it flows. I have often thought how much happier I should have been, if, instead of accepting the command under such circumstances, I had taken my musket on my shoulder and entered the ranks, or, if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country, and lived in a wigwam. If I shall be able to rise superior to these and many other difficulties, which might be enumerated, I shall most religiously believe, that the finger of Providence is in it, to blind the eyes of our enemies; for surely if we get well through this month, it must be for want of their knowing the disadvantages we labor under.

Could I have foreseen the difficulties, which have come upon us; could I have known, that such a backwardness would have been discovered among the old sol-

diers* to the service, all the generals upon earth should not have convinced me of the propriety of delaying an attack upon Boston till this time. When it can now be attempted, I will not undertake to say; but thus much I will answer for, that no opportunity can present itself earlier than my wishes. But as this letter discloses some interesting truths, I shall be somewhat uneasy until I hear it gets to your hands, although the conveyance is thought safe.

We made a successful attempt a few nights ago upon the houses near Bunker's Hill. A party under Major Knowlton crossed upon the mill-dam, the night being dark, and set fire to and burnt down eight out of fourteen which were standing, and which we found they were daily pulling down for fuel. Five soldiers, and the wife of one of them, inhabiting one of the houses, were brought off prisoners; another soldier was killed; none of ours hurt.

Having undoubted information of the embarkation of troops, somewhere from three to five hundred, at Boston, and being convinced they are designed either for the New York government (from whence we have some very disagreeable accounts of the conduct of the Tories) or Virginia, I despatched General Lee a few days ago, in order to secure the city of New York from falling into their hands, as the consequences of such a blow might prove fatal to our interests. He is also to inquire a little into the conduct of the Long-Islanders, and such others as have, by their conduct and declarations, proved themselves inimical to the common cause.

To effect these purposes, he is to raise volunteers in Connecticut, and call upon the troops of New Jersey, if not contrary to any order of Congress.

* The troops that were assembled at Cambridge, when General Washington took the command.

By a ship just arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, we have London prints to the 2d of November, containing the addresses of Parliament, which are little more than a repetition of the speech, with assurances of standing by his Majesty with lives and fortunes. The captains (for there were three or four of them passengers) say, that we have nothing to expect but the most vigorous exertions of administration, who have a dead majority upon all questions, although the Duke of Grafton and General Conway have joined the minority, as also the Bishop of Peterborough. These captains affirm confidently, that the five regiments from Ireland cannot any of them have arrived at Halifax, inasmuch as, by a violent storm on the 19th of October, the transports were forced, in a very distressed condition, into Milford Haven, and were not in a condition to put to sea when they left London, and the weather has been such since, as to prevent heavy loaded ships from making a passage by this time. One or two transports, they add, were thought to be lost; but these arrived some considerable time ago at Boston, with three companies of the 17th regiment.

Mr. Sayre has been committed to the Tower, upon the information of a certain Lieutenant or Adjutant Richardson (formerly of your city) for treasonable practices; an intention of seizing his Majesty, and possessing himself of the Tower, it is said in "The Crisis." But he is admitted to bail himself in five hundred pounds, and two sureties in two hundred and fifty pounds each.*

What are the conjectures of the wise ones with you, as to the French armament in the West Indies? But previous to this, is there any certainty of such an arma-

* Mr. Sayre was afterwards released, as the charges were found to be groundless.

ment? The captains, who are sensible men, heard nothing of this when they left England; nor does there appear any apprehensions on this score in any of the measures or speeches of administration. I should think the Congress will not, ought not, to adjourn at this important crisis. But it is highly necessary, when I am at the end of the second sheet of paper, that I should adjourn my account of matters to another letter. I shall, therefore, in Mrs. Washington's name, thank you for your good wishes towards her, and with compliments, added to mine, to Mrs. Reed, conclude, dear Sir, your sincere and affectionate servant.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Cambridge, 16 January, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 5th instant, enclosing copies of General Montgomery's and General Wooster's letters, I received; for which I return you my thanks.*

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* General Schuyler had written to Washington, intimating his desire and intention to leave the army, and closing his remarks on the subject as follows; —

"I have already informed you of the disagreeable situation I have been in during the campaign; but I would waive that, were it not that it has chiefly arisen from prejudice and jealousy; for I could point out particular persons of rank in the army, who have frequently declared, that the general, commanding in this quarter, ought to be of the colony from whence the majority of the troops came. But it is not from opinions or principles of individuals, that I have drawn the following conclusion, *that troops from the colony of Connecticut will not bear with a general from another colony*; it is from the daily and common conversation of all ranks of people from that colony, both in and out of the army. And I assure you, that I sincerely lament, that people of so much public virtue should be actuated by such an unbecoming jealousy, founded on such a narrow principle; a principle extremely unfriendly to our righteous cause, as it tends to alienate the affections of numbers in this colony, in spite of the most favorable constructions, that prudent men and real Americans

It was from a full conviction of your zealous attachment to the cause of our country, and abilities to serve it, that I have repeatedly pressed your continuance in command; and it is with much concern, Sir, that I find you have reason to think your holding the place you do, will be of prejudice and incompatible with its interest. As you are of this opinion, the part you are inclined to take is certainly generous and noble. But will the good consequences you intend be derived from it? I greatly fear they will not. I shall leave the matter to yourself, in full confidence, that in whatever sphere you move, your exertions for your country's weal will not be wanting.

Whatever proof you may obtain, fixing or tending to support the charge against Mr. Prescott, you will please to transmit to me by the first opportunity.* I am apt to believe the intelligence given to Dr. Wheelock, respecting Major Rogers, was not true;† but being much suspected of unfriendly views to this country, his conduct should be attended to with some degree of vigilance and circumspection.

I confess I am much concerned for General Montgomery and Colonel Arnold; and the consequences which will result from their miscarriage, should it happen, are very alarming; I fear, no less fatal than you mention. However, I trust that their distinguished conduct, bravery, and perseverance will meet with the smiles of fortune, and put them in possession of that

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amongst us attempt to put upon it. And although I frankly avow, that I feel a resentment, yet I shall continue to sacrifice it to a nobler object, — the weal of that country in which I have drawn the breath of life, resolved ever to seek with unwearied assiduity for opportunities to fulfil my duty to it."

* Respecting General Prescott's harsh treatment of Ethan Allen, and the prisoners taken with him at Montreal.

† That is, in regard to his having been with the enemy in Canada.

important fortress. I wish their force was greater; the reduction would then be certain.

I am sorry that Ticonderoga and Fort George should be left by the garrisons, and that your recruiting officers meet with such ill success. It is too much the case in this quarter, and from the slow progress made in enlisting, I despair of raising an army to the new establishment. Should it be effected, it will be a long time first. Our Caghnawaga friends are not arrived yet. I will try to make suitable provision for them during their stay, and use every means in my power to confirm their favorable disposition towards us. They will not, I am fearful, have such ideas of our strength, as I could wish. This, however, shall be strongly inculcated.*

If Quebec is in our possession, I do not see that any inconvenience will result from Mr. Gamble's going there upon his parole;† but if it is not, however hurtful it may be to him, however disagreeable to me, to prejudice the interest of an individual, I cannot consent to his return. I am much distressed by applications of a like nature. If Mr. Gamble's request is granted, others in the same situation will claim the same indulgence. Further, I think a particular exchange should not be made, and my proposition for a general one was rejected by Mr. Howe, or, what is the same, it was unnoticed. I could wish that his application had been to Congress. They might have complied with it, had they thought it reasonable.

I am much pleased that the artillery was likely to be

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* The Caghnawagas were a tribe of Indians, residing on the River St. Lawrence, a few miles above Montreal. A party of them had visited General Schuyler, and proposed to go forward to the camp at Cambridge.

† Mr. Gamble was a deputy quartermaster-general in the British army, and made prisoner with General Prescott after the capitulation of Montreal. He had solicited permission to go to Quebec on his parole.

got over the river, and am in hopes that Colonel Knox will arrive with it in a few days. It is much wanted. On reading the copy of General Wooster's letter, I was much surprised to find, that he had granted furloughs to the Connecticut troops under his command, in preference to discharges. What advantage could he imagine they would be of to the continent, when they were at their own homes? If he could not continue them in the services they were upon, their discharges would certainly have eased the country of a considerable expense. Giving you in return, the compliments of the season, and wishing you every happiness,

I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Cambridge, 16 January, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

Your several resolves, in consequence of my letters, have been presented to me by a committee of your honorable body. I thank you for the assurances of being zealously disposed to do every thing in your power to facilitate the recruiting of the American army; and, at the same time I assure you that I do not entertain a doubt of the truth of it, I must beg leave to add, that I conceive you have mistaken the meaning of my letter of the 10th, if you suppose it ever was my idea, that you should offer a bounty at the separate expense of this colony.

It was not clear to me, but that some coercive measures might be used on this as on former occasions, to draft men to complete the regiments upon the Continental establishment. But as this is thought unadvisable, I shall rely on your recommending to the selectmen and

committees of correspondence to exert themselves in their several towns, to promote the enlistments for the American army.

In the mean while, as there is no appearance of this service going on but slowly, and it is necessary to have a respectable body of troops here as soon as possible, to act as circumstances shall require, I must beg that you will order in, with as much expedition as the nature of the case will admit, seven regiments, agreeably to the establishment of this army, to continue in service till the 1st of April, if required. You will be pleased to direct, that the men come provided with good arms, blankets, kettles for cooking, and if possible with twenty rounds of powder and ball.

With respect to your other resolve relative to arms, I am quite ready to make an absolute purchase of such as shall be furnished either by the colony or individuals. I am also ready to engage payment for all the arms, which shall be furnished by the recruits, if lost in the public service; but I do not know how far I could be justified in allowing for the use of them, when I know it to be the opinion of Congress, that every man shall furnish his own arms, or pay for the use of them if put into his hands. To do otherwise is an indirect way of raising the pay. I again wish, that the honorable Court could devise some method of purchasing.

I beg leave to return my thanks for the kind offer of fifty thousand pounds for the Continental use. I will accept of a loan, upon the terms mentioned, of half that sum to secure payment of the militia, whose time of service will be up the last of this month; till when I shall not have occasion to make use of the money. I am, with great respect, &c.*

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* The views of the British commander in Boston, respecting the state

16th To Matthew Thornton, 16 January, 17[illegible]
II N. H. Hist. Soc., 152

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Cambridge, 18 January, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor of the 13th instant with its enclosures, and am heartily sorry and most sincerely condole with you upon the fall of the brave and worthy Montgomery, and those gallant officers and men, who have experienced a like fate.

In the death of this gentleman, America has sustained a heavy loss, having approved himself a steady friend to her rights, and of ability to render her the most essential services. I am much concerned for the intrepid and enterprising Arnold, and greatly fear, that consequences of the most alarming nature will result from this well intended but unfortunate attempt. It would give me the greatest pleasure, if I could be the happy means of relieving our fellow citizens now in Canada, and preventing the ministerial troops from ex-

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of affairs at this time, may be known by the following extract from a letter, dated on the 10th of January, and written by him to Lord Dartmouth.

"From what I can learn of the designs of the leaders of the rebels," says General Howe, "they seem determined, since the receipt of the King's speech among them, to make the most diligent preparations for an active war; and it is my firm opinion, that they will not retract until they have tried their fortune in a battle, and are defeated. But I am under the necessity of repeating to your Lordship, that the apparent strength of the army for the spring does not flatter me with the hopes of bringing the rebels to a decisive action. With a proper army of twenty thousand men, having twelve thousand at New York, six thousand at Rhode Island, and two thousand at Halifax, exclusive of an army for the province of Quebec, the present unfavorable appearance of things would probably wear a very different aspect before the end of the ensuing campaign. With fewer troops, the success of any offensive operations will be very doubtful, the enemy possessing advantages that will not readily be overcome by a small force; neither is their army by any means to be despised, having in it many European soldiers, and all or most of the young men of spirit in the country, who are exceedingly diligent and attentive to their military profession."

ulting long, and availing themselves of the advantages arising from this repulse. But it is not in my power. Since the dissolution of the old army, the progress in raising recruits for the new has been so very slow and inconsiderable, that five thousand militia have been called in for the defence of our lines. A great part of these have gone home again, and the rest have been induced to stay with the utmost difficulty and persuasion, though their going would render the holding of the lines truly precarious and hazardous, in case of an attack. In short I have not a man to spare.

In order that proper measures might be adopted, I called a council of general officers, and desired Mr. John Adams, and other members of influence of the General Court to attend, and laid before them your letter and proposition.*

After due consideration of their importance, they determined that the Colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut should each immediately raise a regiment to continue in service for one year, and to march forthwith to Canada, agreeably to the route proposed in your letter to Congress. This determination, with a copy of your letter and the several enclosures, will be immediately transmitted to the different governments for raising these regiments, which I have reason to believe will be directly complied with, from the assurances I have received from such of the members of the General Court as attended in council, and the general officers promising to exert their utmost interest and influence in their respective colonies.

If these regiments should not be raised so soon as I could wish, yet I would willingly hope, from the ac-

* The proposition was, that General Washington should send, with all possible despatch, a reinforcement of three thousand men into Canada, by the way of Onion River and Lake Champlain.

counts we have received, that Colonel Arnold and his corps will be joined by a number of men under Colonel Warner, and others from Connecticut, who, it is said, marched immediately on getting intelligence of this melancholy affair. If this account be true, I trust they will be in a situation to oppose and prevent Mr. Carleton from regaining possession of what he has lost, and that, upon the arrival of the reinforcement, to be sent from these colonies, the city of Quebec will be reduced to our possession. This must be effected before the winter is entirely over, otherwise it will be exceedingly difficult, if not impracticable, as the enemy will undoubtedly place a strong garrison there. Should this desirable work be accomplished, our conquest in that quarter will be complete; but yet the loss of the brave Montgomery will ever be remembered. It gives me pleasure to find, that you will continue in service, and afford your assistance to relieve your country from the distresses, which at present threaten her in the North.*

None of the letters gives an account how this unfortunate affair ended. In Colonel Campbell's letter of the 31st ultimo, he seems to think Colonel Greene's division was in a very disagreeable situation; and drawing it off at night, or throwing in a party to sustain it, was

* Congress had already resolved, before the news of the failure of the attack on Quebec reached them, that nine battalions should be kept up and maintained the present year for the defence of Canada. Among these was included a battalion of Canadians, to be commanded by Colonel James Livingston. It was likewise determined to raise a second Canadian regiment, to consist of one thousand men divided into four battalions, and commanded by a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and four majors. Moses Hazen was appointed colonel. Both he and Livingston were residents in Canada, and took an active part with the colonies at the beginning of the contest. Hazen was a captain on half pay, and Congress agreed to indemnify him for any loss he might sustain by entering into their service. The *Articles of War* were translated into French, and printed copies sent to Canada. — *Journals of Congress, January 8th, 22d, 23d.*

an object he had much in view. Here he stops. In his letter of the 2d instant he says nothing about it; but I dread further intelligence of the matter.

General Putnam is of opinion, that it will be better for the troops, who may be raised in the western part of Connecticut, to go to Albany, than through the route you have mentioned by Number Four,* and that you pointed out this way upon a supposition, that the reinforcement would be detached from this army. If you concur in sentiment with him, please to inform Governor Trumbull of it by letter, that he may give the necessary order. I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 19 January, 1776.

SIR,

Taking it for granted, that General Schuyler has not only informed you of the fall of the brave and much-to-be-lamented General Montgomery, but of the situation of our affairs in Canada, as related by General Wooster, Colonel Arnold, Colonel Campbell, and others, I shall not take up more of your time on this subject, than is necessary to enclose you a copy of his letter to me, with the result thereon, as appears by the council of war, which I immediately summoned on the occasion, and at which Mr. Adams, by my particular desire, was good enough to attend.

It may appear strange, Sir, as I had not men to spare from these lines, that I should presume, without first sending to Congress, and obtaining an express direction, to recommend to the governments of Massachusetts,

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* Now Charlestown, in New Hampshire, on the Connecticut River.

Connecticut, and New Hampshire, to raise each a regiment, on the Continental account, for this service. I wish most ardently, that the urgency of the case would have admitted of the delay. I wish, also, that the purport of General Schuyler's letter had not, unavoidably as it were, laid me under an indispensable obligation to do it; for, having informed you in his letter, a copy of which he enclosed me, of his dependence on this quarter for men, I thought you might also have some reliance on my exertions. This consideration, added to my fears of the fatal consequences of delay, to an information of your having designed three thousand men for Canada, to a belief, founded chiefly on General Schuyler's letters, that few or none of them were raised, and to my apprehensions for New York, which led me to think, that no troops could be spared from that quarter, induced me to lose not a moment's time in throwing in a force there; being well assured, that General Carleton will improve to the utmost the advantages gained, leaving no artifices untried to fix in his interest the Canadians and Indians, who, we find, are too well disposed to take part with the strongest.

If these reasons are not sufficient to justify my conduct in the opinion of Congress, if the measure contravenes any resolution of theirs, they will please to countermand the levying and marching of the regiments as soon as possible, and do me the justice to believe, that my intentions were good, if my judgment has erred. *

The Congress will please also to observe, that the measure of supporting our posts in Canada appeared of such exceeding great importance, that the general offi-

* When the Congress took this letter into consideration, they resolved that the conduct of the General in calling for these troops, "was prudent, consistent with his duty, and a farther manifestation of his commendable zeal for the good of his country." — *Journals, January 29th.*

cers, agreeing with me in sentiment, and unwilling to lay any burden which can possibly be avoided, although it may turn out an ill-timed piece of parsimony, have resolved, that the three regiments for Canada shall be part of the thirteen militia regiments, which were requested to reinforce this army, as appears by the minutes of another council of war, held on the 16th instant.* I shall, being much hurried and fatigued, add no more in this letter, than my duty to Congress, and that I have the honor to be, &c.

TO THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Cambridge, 19 January, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

The enclosures, herewith sent, convey such full accounts of the sad reverse of our affairs in Canada, as to render it unnecessary for me, in my present hurry, to add aught to the tale.

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* A council of war was convened on the 16th of January, in which the General stated it to be "in his judgment indispensably necessary to make a bold attempt to conquer the ministerial troops in Boston, before they could be reinforced in the spring, if the means could be provided, and a favorable opportunity should offer," and he desired the opinion of the council. It was agreed that such an attempt ought to be made, but that the present force was inadequate; and the council advised the Commander-in-chief to request of the neighbouring colonies thirteen regiments of militia, to serve till the 1st of April; that is, from Massachusetts seven regiments, Connecticut four, and New Hampshire two. Rhode Island was exempted from this call, "on account of the repeated insults of the enemy's ships of war, and the exposed situation of the sea-coast of that colony."

On the 18th, another council was held to consider the letters received the evening before from Canada, conveying intelligence of the fall of Montgomery, and the disaster at Quebec. When the question was put, it was resolved to be inexpedient, in the present weakened state of the lines, to send a detachment from the main army to Canada; but the General was advised to request Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hamp-

Your spirited colony will, I have no doubt, be sufficiently impressed with the expediency of a vigorous exertion to prevent the evils, which must follow from the repulse of our troops. It does not admit of a doubt, but that General Carleton will improve this advantage to the utmost; and, if he should be able to give another current of sentiments to the Canadians and Indians, than those they seem inclined to adopt, words are unnecessary to describe the melancholy effect, which must inevitably follow.

I am persuaded, therefore, that you will exert yourselves to the utmost to throw in the reinforcement, which is now required of your colony, by the route mentioned in General Schuyler's letter; as the doing of it expeditiously may prove a matter of the utmost importance. You will perceive, by the minutes of the council of war enclosed, that the regiment, asked of you for Canada, is one of the seven applied for in my letter of the 16th instant, and that the only difference, with respect to the requisition, is the length of time, and place of service; as no good would result from sending troops to Canada, for a shorter period than the Continental army is raised for, that is, till the 1st of January, 1777.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.*

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shire to raise three regiments with all possible despatch for the Canada expedition, whose time of service should continue till the 1st of January following; and it was decided, that these three regiments should be considered as a part of the thirteen already required, leaving ten only for the army at Cambridge. John Adams, as a member of the Continental Congress, and being then in Watertown, assisted at both of the above councils, by the special invitation of the Commander-in-chief.

* A letter to the same effect was sent to the Governor of Connecticut, and to the President of the Convention of New Hampshire. This requisition had been anticipated by Connecticut; for, as soon as the intelligence from Canada reached that colony, and before General Washington's letter was received, Governor Trumbull convened the Council of Safety, and they resolved to raise a regiment of seven hundred and fifty men to reinforce the army in Canada.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL LEE.

Cambridge, 23 January, 1776.

SIR,

I received your favor of the 16th instant, and am exceedingly sorry to hear, that Congress countermanded the embarkation of the two regiments intended against the Tories on Long Island.* They, I doubt not, had their reasons; but to me it appears, that the period is arrived, when nothing less than the most decisive and vigorous measures should be pursued. Our enemies, from the other side of the Atlantic, will be sufficiently numerous; it highly concerns us to have as few internal ones as possible. As Congress seem to have altered their views in this instance, and the men, who went with you from Connecticut, are upon a very different footing from what I expected, it will be right to give Congress the earliest notice of your proceedings, and to disband your troops as soon as you think circumstances will admit of it.†

In consequence of the melancholy reverse of our affairs in Canada, an application was made to me for succour, and happy should I have been, if the situation of this army could have afforded it. All I could do was to lay the matter before this and the governments of Connecticut and New Hampshire, and urge the expediency and necessity of their sending thither a reinforcement of three regiments immediately. Mr. Trumbull and his Council of Safety had anticipated my request. The other two colonies have adopted the measure. The three regiments are now raising, and, I would willingly hope, will arrive in time to reinstate matters in

* See *Journal of Congress, January 3d and 10th.*

† For an account of General Lee's proceedings in New York, see the *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. I. pp. 74–88.

that quarter, and give them a more agreeable aspect than they now have.

I shall be much obliged by your pressing Colonel McDougall to forward the shells mentioned in his letter of the 2d instant, as they are much wanted, and also to spare me some powder if he possibly can.* You know our stock of this necessary article is inconsiderable, and you know, too, that we have a demand for a further supply.

The progress in raising recruits for the new army being very slow, I have applied to this colony, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, for ten regiments of militia, to continue in service till the 1st of April next, which they have granted me. As soon as they come in, and I can get provided with proper means, I am determined to attempt something. Of this I would have you take no notice.

Within a few days past several persons have come out of Boston. They all agree, that General Clinton is gone upon some expedition. Some say he has between four and five hundred men, others, part of two regiments. What his force consists of is not precisely known; but I am almost certain he has gone with some. His destination must be south of this, and very probably for New York. I thought it necessary to give you

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* In June, 1775, the New York Provincial Congress had formed a scheme for raising a battalion, to consist of four regiments, and on the 30th of that month Alexander McDougall was appointed colonel of the first regiment. He had been extremely zealous in the cause of liberty, acting at an early hour a bold and decided part, by a correspondence with leaders in the other colonies, and by promoting efficient measures in New York. Two or three years before, he had been imprisoned by the old colonial Assembly, on suspicion of writing and publishing his sentiments too freely concerning the character and deliberations of that body. His principles and conduct throughout the war accorded with these early pledges of fidelity to his country's interests.

this information, that you may be on your guard, and prepared to receive him as well as you can.

I shall be glad to hear from you frequently, and to be informed of any occurrences you may think material. I am, dear Sir, with great regard, &c.

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 23 January, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Real necessity compels me to ask you, whether I may entertain any hopes of your returning to my family. If you can make it convenient, and will hint the matter to Colonel Harrison,* I dare venture to say, that Congress will make it agreeable to you in every shape they can. My business increases very fast, and my distresses for want of you increase with it. Mr. Harrison is the only gentleman of my family, that can afford me the least assistance in writing. He and Mr. Moylan, whose time must now be solely employed in his department of commissary, have heretofore afforded me their aid; and I have hinted to them in consequence of what you signified in some former letter, that, as they have really had a great deal of trouble, each of them should receive one third of your pay, reserving the other third contrary to your desire for yourself. My distress and embarrassment are in a way of being very considerably increased by an occurrence in Virginia, which will, I fear, compel Mr. Harrison to leave me, or suffer considerably by his stay. He has written, however, by the last post to ascertain if his return cannot be dispensed with. If he should go, I shall really be dis-

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* Member of Congress from Virginia.

tressed beyond measure, as I know no persons able to supply your places, in this part of the world, with whom I would choose to live in unbounded confidence.

The business, as I hinted to you before, is considerably increased, by being more comprehensive, and at this time perplexed by the great changes which are happening every day; so that you would want a good writer and a methodical man, as an assistant, or copying clerk. Such a one I have no doubt will be allowed, and the choice I leave to yourself, as he should be a person in whose integrity you can confide, and on whose capacity, care, and method you can rely. At present, my time is so much taken up at my desk, that I am obliged to neglect many other essential parts of my duty. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to have persons that can think for me, as well as execute orders. As it may be essential that the pay of the under-secretary should be fixed, that you may, if you incline to return and should engage one, know what to promise him, I have written to Colonel Harrison and Mr. Lynch on this subject.

I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 24 January, 1776.

Sir,

I take the liberty of recommending the expediency, indeed the absolute necessity, of appointing fit and proper persons to settle the accounts of this army. To do it with precision requires time, care, and attention. The longer it is left undone, the more intricate they will be, the more liable to error, and difficult to explain and rectify; as also the persons in whose hands they are, if disposed to take undue advantage, will be less subject

to detection. I have been as attentive, as the nature of my office would admit, in granting warrants for money on the paymaster; but it would be absolutely impossible for me to go into an examination of all the accounts incident to this army, and the vouchers appertaining to them, without devoting so large a portion of my time to the business, as might not only prove injurious, but fatal to it in other respects. This ought, in my humble opinion, to be the particular business of a select committee of Congress, or one appointed by them, who, once in three months at farthest, should make a settlement with the officers in the different departments.

Having met with no encouragement from the governments of Massachusetts and New Hamphire, as to my application for arms, and expecting no better from Connecticut and Rhode Island, I have, as the last expedient, sent one or two officers from each regiment into the country, with money to try if they can buy. In what manner they may succeed, Congress shall be informed as soon as they return. Congress, in my last, would discover my motives for strengthening these lines with the militia; but whether, as the weather turns out exceedingly mild, insomuch as to promise nothing favorable from ice, and as there is no appearance of powder, I shall be able to attempt any thing decisive, time only can determine. No man upon earth wishes more ardently to destroy the nest in Boston, than I do; no person would be willing to go greater lengths than I shall, to accomplish it, if it shall be thought advisable. But if we have neither powder to bombard with, nor ice to pass on, we shall be in no better situation than we have been in all the year; we shall be worse, because their works are stronger.

I have accounts from Boston, which I think may be relied on, that General Clinton, with about four or five

hundred men, has left that place within these four days. Whether this is part of the detachment, which was making up (as mentioned in my letter of the fourth instant, and then at Nantasket) or not, it is not in my power to say. If it is designed for New York or Long Island, as some think, throwing in a body of troops there may prove a fortunate circumstance. If they go farther south, agreeably to the conjectures of others, I hope there will be men to receive them.

Congress will think me a little remiss, I fear, when I inform them, that I have done nothing yet towards raising the battalion of marines; but I hope to stand exculpated from blame, when they hear the reason, which was, that already having twenty-six incomplete regiments, I thought it would be adding to an expense, already great, in officers, to set two entire corps of officers on foot, when perhaps we should not add ten men a week by it to our present numbers. In this opinion the general officers have concurred, which induced me to suspend the matter a little longer. Our enlistments, for the two last weeks, have not amounted to a thousand men, and are diminishing. The regiment for Canada, it is thought, will soon be filled, as the men are to choose all but their field-officers, who are appointed by the Court.

On Sunday evening, thirteen of the Caghnawaga Indians arrived here on a visit. I shall take care that they be so entertained during their stay, that they may return impressed with sentiments of friendship for us, and also of our great strength. One of them is Colonel Louis, who honored me with a visit once before.

I have the honor to be, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Cambridge, 27 January, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 22d enclosing Colonel Arnold's letter of the 2d, explaining the doubt we were in respecting his detachment, is received. Happy would it have been for our cause, if that party could have got out of the city of Quebec;* as I am much afraid by the complexion of the letters from that place, that there is little hope of Arnold's continuing the blockade without assistance from Wooster, which he is determined not to give, whether with propriety or not, I shall not at this distance undertake to decide.

The sad reverse of our affairs in that quarter calls loudly for every exertion in your power, to restore them to the promising aspect they so lately wore. For this reason, notwithstanding you think the necessity of troops from hence is in some measure superseded, I will not countermand the order and appointment of officers, which are gone forth from this government, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, for raising a regiment each, till Congress, who are informed of it, shall have decided upon the measure.

I consider, that the important period is now arrived, when the Canadians and consequently their Indians must take a side. Should any indecisive operations of ours, therefore, give the bias against us, it is much easier to foresee, than to rectify, the dreadful consequences, which must inevitably follow from it. I consider, also, that the reinforcement, under the command of Colonel Warner, and such other spirited men as have left the western parts of the New England governments,

* The party of troops that attacked the city under Arnold, the most of whom were taken prisoners.

is only temporary, and may fail when most wanted; as we find it next to impossible to detain men, not fast bound, in service, after they get a little tired of the duties of it and homesick.

These, my dear Sir, are the great outlines which govern me in this affair. If Congress mark them as strongly as I do, they will not wish to starve the cause at so critical a period. If they think differently, they will direct accordingly, and I must stand corrected for the error my zeal has led me into.

Colonel Porter, said to be an exceedingly active man, is appointed to the command of the regiment from this government; Colonel Burrell to the one from Connecticut; and Colonel Bedel to that from New Hampshire. The two last are represented to me as men of spirit and influence; so that, from these accounts, I have no doubt of their getting into Canada in a very short time, as I have endeavoured to excite a spirit of emulation. I wish most ardently, that the state of your health may permit you to meet them there. The possession of Quebec, and the entire reduction of Canada this winter, so as to have leisure to prepare for the defence of it in the spring, is of such great and extensive importance to the well-being of America, that I wish to see matters under the direction, — but I will say no more, you will come at my meaning.

I am a little embarrassed to know in what manner to conduct myself with respect to the Caghnawaga Indians now here. They have, notwithstanding the treaty of neutrality, which I find they entered into with you the other day, agreeably to what appears to be the sense of Congress, signified to me a desire of taking up arms in behalf of the United Colonies. The Chief of them, who I understand is now the first man of the nation, intends, as it is intimated, to apply to me for a commis-

sion, with the assurance of raising four or five hundred men when he returns. My embarrassment does not proceed so much from the impropriety of encouraging these people to depart from their neutrality, or rather accepting their own voluntary offer, as from the expense, which probably may follow. I am sensible, that, if they do not desire to be idle, they will be for or against us. I am sensible, also, that no artifices will be left unessayed to engage them against us. Their proffered services, therefore, ought not to be rejected; but how far, with the little knowledge I have of their policy and real intentions, and your want of their aid, I ought to go, is the question that puzzles me. I will endeavour, however, to please them by yielding in appearance to their demands; reserving, at the same time, the power in you to regulate their numbers and movements, of which you shall be more fully informed when any thing is fixed.*

I congratulate you upon the success of your expedition into Tryon county. I hope General Lee will execute a work of the same kind on Long Island. It is high time to begin with our internal foes, when we are threatened with such severity of chastisement from our kind parent without. That the Supreme Dispenser of every good may bestow health, strength, and spirit on you and your army, is the fervent wish of, dear Sir, your most affectionate and obedient servant.

* General Schuyler replied in regard to these Indians; — "It is extremely difficult to determine what should be done, in what you mention respecting the offer made by the Caghnawaga Indians; but if we can get decently rid of their offer, I would prefer it to employing them. The expense we are at in the Indian department is now amazing; it will be more so when they consider themselves as in our service; nor would their intervention be of much consequence, unless we could procure that of the other nations. The hauteur of the Indians is much diminished since the taking of Montreal; they evidently see that they cannot get any supplies but through us."

TO COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Cambridge, 27 January, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

On the 17th instant I received the melancholy account of the unfortunate attack on the city of Quebec, attended with the fall of General Montgomery and other brave officers and men, and of your being wounded. This unhappy affair affects me in a very sensible manner, and I sincerely condole with you upon the occasion; but, in the midst of distress, I am happy to find, that suitable honors were paid to the remains of Mr. Montgomery; and that our officers and soldiers, who have fallen into their hands, were treated with kindness and humanity.*

Having received no intelligence later than the copy of your letter of the 2d to General Wooster, I would fain hope, that you are not in a worse situation than you

* During the night of the attack on Quebec there was a tempestuous snow-storm. The bodies of the persons slain under the cliff of Cape Diamond were not discovered till morning, when they were found nearly enveloped in snow. They were taken into the city on a sled. Three of them were known to be officers, and from the initials R. M. written in a fur cap, picked up at the place of the bloody catastrophe, it was conjectured to have belonged to General Montgomery. His features were disfigured by a wound, which he had received in the lower part of the head and neck. At length a woman and a boy were brought, who had lately come into the city from the American camp, and who had often seen the principal officers. They identified the bodies of Montgomery, Captain McPherson, Captain Cheesman, and an orderly sergeant.

Mr. Cramahé, an officer in the British army, and for a time lieutenant-governor of Canada, had served in the late war with Montgomery, and entertained for him a warm personal attachment. He asked permission of General Carleton to bury his friend with marks of honor and respect. This was granted in part, and a coffin lined and covered with black was provided. But the Governor did not consent to the reading of the funeral service, probably not deeming this indulgence conformable to military rules. But when the time of burial approached, Mr. Cramahé invited a clergyman to be present, who read the service privately and unmolested. The other officers were buried at a short distance from their general, but

then were; though, I confess, I have greatly feared, that those misfortunes would be succeeded by others, on account of your unhappy condition, and the dispirited state of the officers and men. If they have not, I trust that when you are joined by three regiments now raising in this and the governments of Connecticut and New Hampshire, and two others ordered by the Congress from Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, with the men already sent off by Colonel Warner, these misfortunes will be done away, and things will resume a more favorable and promising appearance than ever.

I need not mention to you the great importance of this place, and the consequent possession of all Canada, in the scale of American affairs. You are well apprized of it. To whomsoever it belongs, in their favor, probably, will the balance turn. If it is in ours, success I think will most certainly crown our virtuous struggles. If it is in theirs, the contest at best will be doubtful, hazardous, and bloody. The glorious work must be accomplished in the course of this winter, otherwise it will become difficult, most probably impracticable; for administration, knowing that it will be impossible ever to reduce us to a state of slavery and arbitrary rule without it, will certainly send a large reinforcement thither in the spring. I am fully convinced, that your exertions will be invariably directed to this grand object, and I already view the approaching day, when you and your brave followers will enter this important fortress, with every honor

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without coffins, and in the military manner. All the graves were within the walls of the city, and near the Port of St. Louis.

These particulars were communicated to me by Mr. William Smith of Quebec, who had received them from several persons acquainted with them at the time, and especially from Mr. Thompson, who assisted at the burial of Montgomery, and who pointed out the place of his grave a few years ago, when his remains were taken up and removed to New York.

attendant on victory. Then will you have added the only link wanting in the great chain of Continental union, and render the freedom of your country secure.

Wishing you a speedy recovery, and the possession of those laurels, which your bravery and perseverance justly merit, I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.*

TO COMMODORE JOHN MANLY.

Cambridge, 28 January, 1776.

SIR,

I received your agreeable letter of the 26th instant, giving an account of your having taken and carried into Plymouth two of the enemy's transports. Your conduct in engaging the eight-gun schooner, with so few hands as you went out with, your attention in securing your prizes, and your general good behaviour since you first engaged in the service, merit my own and your country's thanks.

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* Arnold wrote from Quebec, on the 27th of February, in reply to this letter, and seemed in high spirits, though encompassed with innumerable difficulties. His mind was of so elastic a nature, that the more it was pressed, the greater was its power of resistance. Congress had recently promoted him to the rank of brigadier-general, as a reward for his good conduct, during the perilous enterprise in which he had been engaged from the time he left Cambridge, till he was wounded in the unsuccessful assault on Quebec. "The severity of the climate," he observes, "the troops very ill clad and worse paid, the trouble of reconciling matters among the inhabitants, and lately an uneasiness among some of the New York and other officers, who think themselves neglected in the new arrangement, while those who deserted the cause and went home last fall have been promoted; in short, the choice of difficulties I have had to encounter has rendered affairs so very perplexing, that I have often been at a loss how to conduct them." He alludes here, and perhaps with some justice, to the case of Colonel Enos, and his officers, who deserted him in the wilderness on their way to Canada, but who were nevertheless retained and promoted in the new establishment.

You may be assured, that every attention will be paid to any reasonable request of yours, and that you shall have the command of a stronger vessel of war; but as it will take up some time before such a one can be fitted out, my desire is, that you continue in the Hancock until the end of the cruise. When that is out, you will come to Head-Quarters, and we will confer together on the subject of the other ship. I wish you could engage men at Plymouth to make your complement at least forty strong. It would enable you to encounter the small tenders, that may fall in your way; though I would rather have you avoid an engagement, until you have a ship, that will place you upon a more equal footing with your enemy. I need not recommend to you to proceed again and pursue your good fortune.

I wish you could inspire the captains of the other armed schooners under your command with some of your activity and industry. Can you not appoint stations for them, where they may have the best chance of intercepting supplies going to the enemy? They dare not disobey your orders, as it is mentioned in the instructions I have given to each of them, that they are to be under your command as commodore; and as such I desire that you will give them such instructions in writing, as to you will appear proper for the good of the service. I am, Sir, wishing you a continuance of success, yours, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 30 January, 1776.

SIR,

Your favors of the 6th and of the 20th instant I received yesterday, with the several resolves of Con-

gress alluded to; for which I return you my thanks. Knowing the great importance Canada will be of to us, in the present interesting contest, and the relief our friends there stand in need of, I should be happy, were it in my power, to detach a battalion from this camp; but it cannot be done. On the 19th instant, I had the honor to write to you a letter, which will fully convey the resolutions of a council of war, and the sentiments of the general officers here, as to the propriety and expediency of sending troops from these lines, for the defence of which we have been and now are obliged to call in the militia; to which I beg leave to refer you. You may rest assured, that my endeavours and exertions shall not be wanting, to stimulate the governments of Connecticut and New Hampshire to raise and forward reinforcements as fast as possible; nor in any other instance that will promote the expedition.*

I shall, in obedience to the order of Congress, though interdicted by General Howe, propose an exchange of

* The generous and humane conduct of General Carleton, in regard to the persons taken at the unfortunate assault on Quebec, ought not to be overlooked. Although he had acquiesced in the harsh treatment of Ethan Allen, yet the prisoners who fell into his hands on the above disastrous occasion, according to their own account, met with a usage in every respect as good as that of the British soldiers, except in the necessary restraints of confinement. This was declared in a letter to Washington from Major Meigs, when he returned on his parole the summer following. The soldiers were confined in the Jesuits' College, and the officers in the Seminary. The latter, after the siege was raised, had permission to walk in a large garden adjoining their quarters. Major Meigs left three hundred prisoners in Quebec, about the middle of May. When they were released for exchange, General Carleton supplied them with articles of clothing, in which they were deficient. It was said, that when some of his officers spoke to him of this act, as an unusual degree of lenity towards prisoners of war, he replied, — "Since we have tried in vain to make them acknowledge us as brothers, let us at least send them away disposed to regard us as first cousins." Having been informed, that many persons suffering from wounds and various disorders were concealed in the woods and obscure places, fearing that if they appeared openly they

Governor Skene for Mr. Lovell and his family, and shall be happy to have an opportunity of putting this deserving man, who has shown his fidelity and regard to his country to be too great for persecution and cruelty to overcome, in any post agreeable to his wishes and inclination. I do not know, that there is any particular rank annexed to the office of aid-de-camp. Generally they are captains, and rank as such; but higher rank is often given on account of particular merit and particular circumstances. Aids to the King have the rank of colonels. Whether any distinction should be made between those of your Commander-in-chief, and the other generals, I really know not. I think there ought.*

You may rely, that Connolly had instructions concealed in his saddle. Mr. Eustis, who was one of Lord Dunmore's family, and another gentleman, who wishes his name not to be mentioned, saw them cased in tin, put in the tree, and covered over. He probably has exchanged his saddle, or withdrawn the papers when it was mended, as you conjecture. Those that have been discovered are sufficiently bad; but I doubt not of the others being worse, and containing more diabolical and extensive plans. I hope he will be taken proper care of, and meet with rewards equal to his merit.

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would be seized as prisoners and severely treated, he issued a proclamation commanding the militia officers to search for such persons, bring them to the general hospital, and procure for them all necessary relief at the public charge. He also invited all such persons to come forward voluntarily, and receive the assistance they needed, assuring them, "that as soon as their health should be restored, they should have free liberty to return to their respective provinces."

Posterity has done justice to the humane character of General Carleton. Few names, that stand out in the history of the events in which he was concerned, are remembered with more respect, even in the country of his foes.

* By a vote of Congress, the Commander-in-chief was allowed three aid-de-camps, who were to rank as lieutenant-colonels; and the major-generals two aids each, to rank as majors.

I shall appoint officers in the places of those, who are in Canada, as I am fully persuaded they will wish to continue there, for making our conquest complete in that quarter. I wish their bravery and valor may be attended with the smiles of fortune. I wish it was in my power to furnish Congress with such a general as they desire, to send to Canada. Since the unhappy reverse of our affairs in that quarter, General Schuyler has informed me, that, though he had thoughts of declining the service before, he would now act. My letter of the 11th will inform them of General Lee's being at New York. He will be ready to obey their orders, should they incline to send him; but, if I am not greatly deceived, he or some other spirited, able officer will be wanted there in the spring, if not sooner; as we have undoubted intelligence, that General Clinton has sailed with some troops. The reports of their number are various, from between four and five hundred to nineteen companies of grenadiers and light infantry. It is also imagined, that the regiments, which were to sail the 1st of December, are intended for that place or Virginia. General Putnam is a most valuable man, and a fine executive officer; but I do not know how he would conduct in a separate department. He is a younger major-general than Mr. Schuyler, who, as I have observed, having determined to continue in the service, will, I expect, repair into Canada. A copy of my letter to him on this and other subjects, I enclose to you, as it will explain my motives for not stopping the regiments from these governments.

When Captain Cochran arrives, I will give him every assistance in my power, in obedience to the orders of Congress; but I fear it will be the means of laying up our own vessels, as these people will not bear the distinction. Should this be the consequence, it will be

highly prejudicial to us, as we sometimes pick up their provision-vessels, and may continue to distress them in this way. Last week Captain Manly took a ship and a brig bound to Boston from Whitehaven, with coals chiefly and some potatoes for the army. I have, for his great vigilance and industry, appointed him commodore of our little squadron; and he now hoists his flag on board the schooner Hancock.

I congratulate you upon the recovery of Smith,* and am exceedingly glad to hear of the measures Congress are taking for the general defence of the continent. The clouds thicken fast; where they will burst, I know not; but we should be armed at all points.

I have not succeeded in my applications to these governments for arms. They have returned for answer, that they cannot furnish any. Whether I shall be more lucky in the last resource left me in this quarter, I cannot determine, not having received returns from the officers sent out to purchase of the people. I greatly fear, that but very few will be procured in this way, as they are exceedingly scarce, and but a small part of what there are, fit for service. When they make their report, you shall be informed.

Since writing the above, I have seen Mr. Eustis; and mentioning that nothing had been found in the tree of Connolly's saddle, he told me there had been a mistake in the matter; that the instructions were artfully concealed on the two pieces of wood, which are on the mail-pillion of his portmanteau-saddle; that, by order of Lord Dunmore, he saw them contrived for the purpose, the papers put in, and first covered with tin, and over that with a waxed canvass cloth. He is so exceedingly pointed and clear in his information, that I

* One of Connolly's associates, who was to have been surgeon of his regiment.

have no doubt of its being true. I could wish them to be discovered, as I think they contain some curious and extraordinary plans. In my letter of the 24th instant, I mentioned the arrival of thirteen of our Caghnawaga friends. They honored me with a talk to-day, as did three of the tribes of St. John's and Passamaquoddy Indians, copies of which I beg leave to enclose you. I shall write to General Schuyler respecting the tender of service made by the former, and not to call for their assistance, unless he shall at any time want it, or be under the necessity of doing it to prevent their taking the side of our enemies.

I had the honor of writing to you on the 19th of November, and then I informed you of having engaged two persons to go to Nova Scotia on the business recommended in your letter of the 10th; and also that the state of the army would not then admit of a sufficient force being sent, for carrying into execution the views of Congress respecting the dock-yards. I would now beg leave to mention, that, if the persons sent for information should report favorably of the expediency and practicability of the measure, it will not be in my power to detach any men from these lines. The situation of our affairs will not allow it. I think it would be advisable to raise them in the eastern parts of this government. If it is attempted, it must be by people from that country. A Colonel Thompson, a member of the General Court from the province of Maine, and who is well spoken of by the Court, and a Captain O'Brien have been with me. They think the men necessary may be easily engaged there, and the measure practicable. Provided there are not more than two hundred British troops at Halifax, they are willing and ready to embark in the matter, upon the terms mentioned in their plan, which I enclose to you. I would wish you to ad-

vert to the considerations inducing them to the expedition, as I am not without apprehension, should it be undertaken upon their plan, that the innocent and guilty will be involved in one common ruin. I presume they do not expect to receive more from the Continent, than the five or ten thousand pounds mentioned in their scheme, and to be at every expense. If we had men to spare, it might be undertaken for less than either, I conceive. Perhaps, if Congress do not adopt their proposition, they will undertake to raise men for that particular purpose, who may be disbanded as soon as it is effected, and upon the same terms that are allowed the Continental troops in general. Whatever may be the determination of Congress upon the subject, you will please to communicate it to me immediately; for the season most favorable for the enterprise is advancing fast; and we may expect in the spring, that there will be more troops there, and the measure be more difficult to execute. I have the honor to be, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL LEE.

Cambridge, 30 January, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you the 23d instant, and then informed you, that General Clinton had gone upon some expedition with four or five hundred men. There is good reason to believe, that Tryon has applied for some troops, and that he would join them with a great number of inhabitants; so that you will see the necessity of your being decisive and expeditious in your operations in that quarter. The Tories should be disarmed immediately, though it is probable that they may have secured their arms on board the King's ships, until call-

ed upon to use them against us. However, you can seize upon the persons of the principals. They must be so notoriously known, that there will be little danger of your committing mistakes, and happy should I be if the Governor could be one of them.

Since writing the above, your favor of the 24th has come to hand, with the sundry enclosures, which I have with attention perused, and very much approve of your conduct. I sincerely wish that the letter you expect to receive from Congress may empower you to act conformably to your own and my sentiments on this occasion. If they should order differently, we must submit, as they doubtless will have good reasons for what they may determine.*

The Congress desire I should send an active general to Canada. I fancy, when they made the demand, that they did not think General Schuyler would continue in that station, which he has given me to understand, in some late letters from him, that he would. Should they not approve of the New York expedition, and think another general necessary for the northern department, it is probable they will fix on you to take the command there. I should be sorry to have you removed so far from this scene; but if the service there requires your presence, it will be a fine field for the exertion of your admirable talents. There is nothing new here. Let me hear often from you, and believe me, &c.

* General Lee was now at Stamford, in Connecticut, where he was preparing to enter New York with such troops as he had collected. In his letter to Congress from Stamford, he had strongly urged the expediency of disarming the Tories, requiring an oath of them to act offensively and defensively in support of the common rights, and a pledge of one half of their property as a security for their good behaviour.

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 31 January, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

In my last, by Mr. John Adams, I communicated my distresses to you on account of my want of your assistance. I have since been under some concern at having done it, lest it should precipitate your return before you are ready for it, or bring on a final resignation, which I am unwilling to think of, if your return can be made convenient and agreeable. True it is, that from a variety of causes my business has been, and now is, multiplied and perplexed; whilst the means of execution are greatly contracted. This may be a cause for my wishing you here, but no inducement to your coming, if you hesitated before.

I have now to thank you for your favors, and for the several articles of intelligence, which they convey. The account given of your navy, at the same time that it is exceedingly unfavorable to our wishes, is a little provoking to me, inasmuch as it has deprived us of necessary articles, which otherwise would have been sent hither; but which a kind of fatality I fear will for ever deprive us of.* In the instance of New York, we are not to receive a particle of what you expected would be sent from thence; the time and season passing away, as I believe the troops in Boston also will, before the season for taking the field arrives. I dare say they are preparing for it now, as we have undoubted intelligence of Clinton's leaving Boston with a number of troops, believed to be designed for Long Island, or New York, in consequence of assurances from Governor Tryon of powerful aid from the Tories there.

* Armed vessels were now fitting out in Philadelphia by order of the Continental Congress, under the command of Commodore Hopkins.

I hope my countrymen of Virginia will rise superior to any losses the whole navy of Great Britain can bring on them, and that the destruction of Norfolk, and the attempted devastation of other places, will have no other effect, than to unite the whole country in one indissoluble bond. A few more of such flaming arguments, as were exhibited at Falmouth and Norfolk,* added to the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet "*Common Sense*," will not leave numbers at a loss to decide upon the propriety of a separation.

By a letter of the 21st instant from General Wooster, I find, that Arnold was continuing the blockade of Quebec on the 19th, which, under the heaviness of our loss there, is a most favorable circumstance, and exhibits a fresh proof of Arnold's ability and perseverance in the midst of difficulties. The reinforcement ordered to him will, I hope, complete the entire conquest of Canada this winter; and except for the loss of the gallant chief, and his brave followers, I should think the rebuff rather favorable than otherwise; for had the country been subdued by such a handful of men, it is more than probable, that it would have been left to the defence of a few, and rescued from us in the spring. Our eyes will now be open not only to the importance of holding it, but to the numbers which are requisite to that end.

In my last I think I informed you of my sending General Lee to New York, with the intention of securing the Tories on Long Island, and preventing, if possible, the King's troops from making a lodgment there; but I fear the Congress will be duped by the representations from that government, or yield to them in such a manner as to become marplots to the expedition. The

* The town of Norfolk, in Virginia, had been bombarded and burnt by Lord Dunmore on the 1st of January.

city seems to be entirely under the government of Tryon and the captain of the man-of-war.

Mrs. Washington desires me to thank you for the picture sent her. Mr. Campbell, whom I never saw, to my knowledge, has made a very formidable figure of the Commander-in-chief, giving him a sufficient portion of terror in his countenance. Mrs. Washington also desires her compliments to Mrs. Reed, as I do, and, with the sincerest regard and affection, I remain, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.

P. S. I had written the letter herewith enclosed before your favor of the 21st came to hand. The account given of the behaviour of the men under General Montgomery, is exactly consonant to the opinion I have formed of these people, and such as they will exhibit abundant proofs of, in similar cases whenever called upon. Place them behind a parapet, a breast-work, stone wall, or any thing that will afford them shelter, and, from their knowledge of a firelock, they will give a good account of the enemy; but I am as well convinced, as if I had seen it, that they will not march boldly up to a work, nor stand exposed in a plain; and yet, if we are furnished with the means, and the weather will afford us a passage, and we can get in men, for these three things are necessary, something must be attempted. The men must be brought to face danger; they cannot always have an intrenchment or a stone wall as a safeguard or shield; and it is of essential importance, that the troops in Boston should be destroyed if possible before they can be reinforced or removed. This is clearly my opinion. Whether circumstances will admit of the trial, and, if tried, what will be the result, the All-wise Disposer of events alone can tell.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 9 February, 1776.

Sir,

The purport of this letter will be directed to a single object. Through you I mean to lay it before Congress, and, at the same time that I beg their serious attention to the subject, to ask pardon for intruding an opinion, not only unasked, but, in some measure, repugnant to their resolves.

The disadvantages attending the limited enlistment of troops are too apparent to those, who are eyewitnesses of them, to render any animadversions necessary; but to gentlemen at a distance, whose attention is engrossed by a thousand important objects, the case may be otherwise. That this cause precipitated the fate of the brave and much-to-be-lamented General Montgomery, and brought on the defeat, which followed thereupon, I have not the most distant doubt; for, had he not been apprehensive of the troops leaving him at so important a crisis, but continued the blockade of Quebec, a capitulation, from the best accounts I have been able to collect, must inevitably have followed. And that we were not at one time obliged to dispute these lines, under disadvantageous circumstances, proceeding from the same cause, to wit, the troops disbanding of themselves before the militia could be got in, is to me a matter of wonder and astonishment, and proves, that General Howe was either unacquainted with our situation, or restrained by his instructions from putting any thing to hazard, till his reinforcements should arrive.

The instance of General Montgomery (I mention it, because it is a striking one, for a number of others might be adduced) proves, that, instead of having men to take advantage of circumstances, you are in a manner

compelled, right or wrong, to make circumstances yield to a secondary consideration. Since the 1st of December, I have been devising every means in my power to secure these encampments; and though I am sensible that we never have, since that period, been able to act upon the offensive, and at times not in a condition to defend, yet the cost of marching home one set of men, bringing in another, the havoc and waste occasioned by the first, the repairs necessary for the second, with a thousand incidental charges and inconveniences, which have arisen, and which it is scarce possible either to recollect or describe, amount to near as much, as the keeping up a respectable body of troops the whole time, ready for any emergency, would have done. To this may be added, that you never can have a well disciplined army.

To bring men to be well acquainted with the duties of a soldier, requires time. To bring them under proper discipline and subordination, not only requires time, but is a work of great difficulty, and, in this army, where there is so little distinction between the officers and soldiers, requires an uncommon degree of attention. To expect, then, the same service from raw and undisciplined recruits, as from veteran soldiers, is to expect what never did and perhaps never will happen. Men, who are familiarized to danger, meet it without shrinking; whereas troops unused to service often apprehend danger where no danger is. Three things prompt men to a regular discharge of their duty in time of action; natural bravery, hope of reward, and fear of punishment. The two first are common to the untutored and the disciplined soldier; but the last most obviously distinguishes the one from the other. A coward, when taught to believe, that, if he breaks his ranks and abandons his colors, he will be punished with death by his

own party, will take his chance against the enemy; but a man, who thinks little of the one, and is fearful of the other, acts from present feelings, regardless of consequences.

Again, men of a day's standing will not look forward; and from experience we find, that, as the time approaches for their discharge, they grow careless of their arms, ammunition, and camp utensils. Nay, even the barracks themselves have felt uncommon marks of wanton depredation, and lay us under fresh trouble and additional expense in providing for every fresh set, when we find it next to impossible to procure such articles, as are absolutely necessary in the first instance. To this may be added the seasoning, which new recruits must have to a camp, and the loss consequent thereupon. But this is not all. Men engaged for a short and limited time only, have the officers too much in their power; for, to obtain a degree of popularity in order to induce a second enlistment, a kind of familiarity takes place, which brings on a relaxation of discipline, unlicensed furloughs, and other indulgences incompatible with order and good government; by which means the latter part of the time, for which the soldier was engaged, is spent in undoing what you were aiming to inculcate in the first.

To go into an enumeration of all the evils we have experienced, in this late great change of the army, and the expenses incidental to it, to say nothing of the hazard we have run, and must run, between the discharging of one army and enlistment of another, unless an enormous expense of militia is incurred, would greatly exceed the bounds of a letter. What I have already taken the liberty of saying will serve to convey a general idea of the matter; and therefore I shall, with all due deference, take the freedom to give it as my opin-

ion, that, if the Congress have any reason to believe, that there will be occasion for troops another year, and consequently for another enlistment, they would save money, and have infinitely better troops, if they were, even at a bounty of twenty, thirty, or more dollars, to engage the men already enlisted till January next, and such others as may be wanted to complete the establishment, for and during the war. I will not undertake to say, that the men can be had upon these terms; but I am satisfied, that it will never do to let the matter alone, as it was last year, till the time of service was near expiring. The hazard is too great, in the first place; in the next, the trouble and perplexity of disbanding one army and raising another at the same instant, and in such a critical situation as the last was, are scarcely in the power of words to describe, and such as no man, who has experienced them once, will ever undergo again.

If Congress should differ from me in sentiment upon this point, I have only to beg that they will do me the justice to believe, that I have nothing more in view, than what to me appears necessary to advance the public weal, although in the first instance it will be attended with a capital expense; and that I have the honor to be, &c.

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TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 9 February, 1776.

SIR,

In compliance with the resolves of Congress, I have applied to General Howe for the exchange of Mr. Lovell. A copy of my letter, and his answer thereto, you have enclosed. Captain Waters and Captain Tucker,

who command two of the armed schooners, have taken and sent into Gloucester a large brigantine, laden with wood, a hundred and fifty butts for water, and forty suits of bedding, bound from Lahave, in Nova Scotia, for Boston. She is one of the transports in the ministerial service. The captain says, that he was at Halifax the 17th of January, and that General Massey had arrived there with two regiments from Ireland.

The different prizes were all libelled immediately on the receipt of the resolves of Congress pointing out the mode; but none of them are yet brought to trial, owing to a difference between the law passed in this province, and the resolutions of Congress. The General Court are making an amendment to their law, by which the difficulties that now occur will be removed, as I understand it is to be made conformable to your resolves. The unavoidable delay attending the bringing the captures to trial is grievously complained of by the masters of these vessels, as well as the captors. Many of the former have applied for liberty to go away without waiting the decision, which I have granted them.

I beg leave to recall the attention of Congress to their appointing a commissary in these parts, to attend to the providing of necessaries for the prisoners, who are dispersed in these provinces. Complaints are made by some of them, that they are in want of bedding and many other things. As I understand that Mr. Franks has undertaken that business, I wish he was ordered to send a deputy immediately to see, that the prisoners get what is allowed them by Congress; also to supply the officers with money, as they may have occasion. It would save me much time and much trouble. There are yet but few companies of the militia come in. This delay will, I am much afraid, frustrate the intention of their being called upon, as the season is slipping fast

away when they may be of service. The demands of the army were so very pressing before your last remittance came to hand, that I was under the necessity of borrowing twenty-five thousand pounds lawful money from this province. They very cheerfully lent it, and passed a vote for as much more, if required. I have not repaid the sum borrowed, as I may stand in need of it before the arrival of another supply, which the demands of the commissary-general, quartermaster-general, and paying off the arrearages, will very soon require.

Your esteemed favor of the 29th ultimo is just come to hand. It makes me very happy to find my conduct has met the approbation of Congress. I am entirely of your opinion, that, should an accommodation take place, the terms will be severe or favorable in proportion to our ability to resist, and that we ought to be on a respectable footing to receive their armaments in the spring. But how far we shall be provided with the means, is a matter I profess not to know, under my present unhappy want of arms, ammunition, and, I may add, men, as our regiments are very incomplete. The recruiting goes on very slowly, and will, I apprehend, still decline, if for other service the men receive a bounty, and none is given here. I have tried every method I could think of, to procure arms for our men. They really are not to be had in these governments, belonging to the public; and if some method is not fallen upon, in the southern governments, to supply us, we shall be in a distressed situation for want of them. There are near two thousand men now in camp without firelocks. I have written to the committee of New York this day, requesting them to send me the arms, which were taken from the disaffected in that government. The Congress interesting themselves in this request will

doubtless have a good effect. I have sent officers into the country, with money to purchase arms in the different towns. Some have returned, and brought in a few; many are still out; what their success will be, I cannot determine. I was in great hopes that the expresses, resolved to be established between this place and Philadelphia, would ere now have been fixed. It would, in my opinion, rather save than increase the expense, as many horses are destroyed by one man coming the whole way. It will certainly be more expeditious, and safer, than writing by the post or private hands, which I am often under the necessity of doing.

I am, with great respect, &c.

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 10 February, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

If you conceive, that I took any thing wrong, or amiss, that was conveyed in any of your former letters, you are really mistaken. I only meant to convince you, that nothing would give me more real satisfaction, than to know the sentiments, which are entertained of me by the public, whether they be favorable or otherwise; and I urged as a reason, that the man, who wished to steer clear of shelves and rocks, must know where they lie. I know the integrity of my own heart, but to declare it, unless to a friend, may be an argument of vanity; I know the unhappy predicament I stand in; I know that much is expected of me; I know, that without men, without arms, without ammunition, without any thing fit for the accommodation of a soldier, little is to be done; and, what is mortifying, I know, that I cannot stand justified to the world without exposing my own

weakness, and injuring the cause, by declaring my wants, which I am determined not to do, further than unavoidable necessity brings every man acquainted with them.

If, under these disadvantages, I am able to keep above water, in the esteem of mankind, I shall feel myself happy; but if, from the unknown peculiarity of my circumstances, I suffer in the opinion of the world, I shall not think you take the freedom of a friend, if you conceal the reflections that may be cast upon my conduct. My own situation is so irksome to me at times, that, if I did not consult the public good, more than my own tranquillity, I should long ere this have put every thing on the cast of a die. So far from my having an army of twenty thousand men well armed, I have been here with less than one half of that number, including sick, furloughed, and on command, and those neither armed nor clothed, as they should be. In short, my situation has been such, that I have been obliged to use art to conceal it from my own officers.

The party sent to Bunker's Hill had some good and some bad men engaged in it. One or two courts have been held on the conduct of part of them. To be plain, these people are not to be depended upon if exposed; and any man will fight well if he thinks himself in no danger. I do not apply this only to these people. I suppose it to be the case with all raw and undisciplined troops. You may rely upon it, that transports left Boston six weeks ago with troops; where they are gone, unless driven to the West Indies, I know not. You may also rely upon General Clinton's sailing from Boston about three weeks ago, with about four or five hundred men; his destination I am also a stranger to. I am sorry to hear of the failures you speak of from France. But why will not Congress forward

part of the powder made in your province? They seem to look upon this as the season for action, but will not furnish the means. I will not blame them. I dare say the demands upon them are greater than they can supply. The cause must be starved till our resources are greater, or more certain within ourselves.

With respect to myself, I have never entertained an idea of an accommodation, since I heard of the measures, which were adopted in consequence of the Bunker's Hill fight. The King's speech has confirmed the sentiments I entertained upon the news of that affair; and, if every man was of my mind, the ministers of Great Britain should know, in a few words, upon what issue the cause should be put. I would not be deceived by artful declarations, nor specious pretences; nor would I be amused by unmeaning propositions; but in open, undisguised, and manly terms proclaim our wrongs, and our resolution to be redressed. I would tell them, that we had borne much, that we had long and ardently sought for reconciliation upon honorable terms, that it had been denied us, that all our attempts after peace had proved abortive, and had been grossly misrepresented, that we had done every thing which could be expected from the best of subjects, that the spirit of freedom rises too high in us to submit to slavery, and that, if nothing else would satisfy a tyrant and his diabolical ministry, we are determined to shake off all connexions with a state so unjust and unnatural. This I would tell them, not under covert, but in words as clear as the sun in its meridian brightness.

I observe what you say, in respect to the ardor of the chimney-corner heroes. I am glad their zeal is in some measure abated, because if circumstances will not permit us to make an attempt upon Boston, or if it should be made and fail, we shall not appear altogether

so culpable. I entertain the same opinion of the attempt now, which I have ever done. I believe an assault would be attended with considerable loss, and I believe it would succeed, if the men should behave well. As to an attack upon Bunker's Hill, unless it could be carried by surprise, the loss, I conceive, would be greater in proportion than at Boston; and, if a defeat should follow, it would be discouraging to the men, but highly animating if crowned with success. Great good, or great evil, would consequently result from it.

The Congress have ordered all captures to be tried in the courts of admiralty of the different governments to which they are sent. Some irreconcilable difference arising between the resolves of Congress, and the law of this colony, respecting the proceedings, or something which always happens to procrastinate business here, has put a total stop to the trials, to the no small injury of the public, as well as the great grievance of individuals. Whenever a condemnation shall take place, I shall not be unmindful of your advice respecting the hulls. Would to heaven the plan you speak of for obtaining arms may succeed. The acquisition would be great, and give fresh life and vigor to our measures. Our expectations are kept alive, and if we can keep ourselves so, and our spirits up another summer, I have no fears of wanting the needful after that.

We have had a most laborious piece of work at Lechmere's Point, on account of the frost. We hope to get it finished on Sunday. It is within as commanding a distance of Boston as Dorchester Hill, though of a different part. Our vessels now and then pick up a prize or two. Our Commodore Manly was very near being caught about eight days ago, but happily escaped with his vessel and crew after running the former on shore, scuttling, and defending her.

I recollect nothing else worth giving you the trouble of, unless you can be amused by reading a letter and poem addressed to me by Miss Phillis Wheatley. In searching over a parcel of papers the other day, in order to destroy such as were useless, I brought it to light again. At first, with a view of doing justice to her poetical genius, I had a great mind to publish the poem; but not knowing whether it might not be considered rather as a mark of my own vanity, than as a compliment to her, I laid it aside, till I came across it again in the manner just mentioned. I congratulate you upon your election, although I consider it as the *coup de grace* to my expectation of ever seeing you a resident with me this campaign. I have only to regret the want of you, if that should be the case; and I shall do it the more feelingly, as I have experienced the good effects of your aid. I am, with Mrs. Washington's compliments to Mrs. Reed, and my best respects, dear Sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 14 February, 1776.

Sir,

Through you, I beg leave to lay before Congress the enclosed letter from Lord Drummond to General Robertson, which came to my hands a few days ago, in order to be sent into Boston.

As I never heard of his Lordship's being vested with power to treat with Congress upon the subject of our grievances, nor of his having laid any propositions before them for an accommodation, I confess it surprised me much, and led me to form various conjectures of his motives, and intended application to General Howe and

Admiral Shuldham for a passport for the safe conduct of such deputies, as Congress might appoint for negotiating terms of reconciliation between Great Britain and us. Whatever his intentions are, however benevolent his designs may be, I confess that his letter has embarrassed me much; and I am not without suspicion of its meaning more than the generous purposes it professes.

I should suppose, that, if the mode for negotiation, which he points out, should be adopted (which I hope will never be thought of), it ought to have been fixed and settled previous to any application of this sort; and at best, that his conduct in this instance is premature and officious, and leading to consequences of a fatal and injurious nature to the rights of this country. His zeal and desire, perhaps, of an amicable and constitutional adjustment taking place, may have suggested and precipitated the measure. Be that as it may, I thought it of too much importance to suffer it to go in without having the express direction of Congress for that purpose; and that it was my indispensable duty to transmit to them the original, to make such interpretations and inferences as they may think right.*

Messrs. Willard and Child, who were sent to Nova Scotia in pursuance of the resolve of Congress, have just returned, and made their report, which I do myself the honor to enclose. They have not answered the purposes of their commission by any means, as they only went a little way into that country, and found their intelligence upon the information of others. You will see the reasons they assign in excuse or justification of their conduct, in the report itself. Last night a party of regulars, said to be about five hundred, landed on Dor-

* See APPENDIX, No. XIII.

chester Neck, and burned some of the houses there, which were of no value to us; nor would they have been, unless we take post there; they then might be of some service. A detachment went after them as soon as the fire was discovered; but before it could arrive, they had executed their plan, and made their retreat.

I am, &c.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 18 February, 1776.

Sir,

The late freezing weather having formed some pretty strong ice from Dorchester Point to Boston Neck, and from Roxbury to the Common, thereby affording a more expanded and consequently a less dangerous approach to the town, I could not help thinking, notwithstanding the militia were not all come in, and we had little or no powder to begin our operation by a regular cannonade or bombardment, that a bold and resolute assault upon the troops in Boston, with such men as we had (for it could not take many men to guard our own lines, at a time when the enemy were attacked in all quarters), might be crowned with success. Therefore, seeing no certain prospect of a supply of powder on the one hand, and a certain dissolution of the ice on the other, I called the general officers together for their

* In describing this adventure, General Howe wrote to Lord Dartmouth, that, it being understood the enemy intended to take possession of Dorchester Point, or Neck, a detachment was ordered from Castle William under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Leslie, and another of grenadiers and light infantry commanded by Major Musgrave, with directions to pass over the ice and destroy every house and every kind of cover on that peninsula, which was executed, and six of the enemy's guard taken prisoners.

opinion, agreeably to the resolve of Congress, of the 22d of December.*

The result will appear in the enclosed council of war; and, being almost unanimous, I must suppose it to be right; although, from a thorough conviction of the necessity of attempting something against the ministerial troops before a reinforcement should arrive, and while we were favored with the ice, I was not only ready, but willing, and desirous of making the assault, under a firm hope, if the men would have stood by me, of a favorable issue, notwithstanding the enemy's advantage of ground and artillery. Perhaps the irksomeness of my situation may have given different ideas to me, from those which influenced the gentlemen whom I consulted, and might have inclined me to put more to the hazard, than was consistent with prudence. If it did, I am not sensible of it, as I endeavoured to give it all the consideration, that a matter of such importance required. True it is, and I cannot help acknowledging it, that I have many disagreeable sensations on account of my situation; for, to have the eyes of the whole continent fixed with anxious expectation of hearing of some great event, and to be restrained in every military operation, for want of the necessary means of carrying it on, is not very pleasing, especially as the means, used to conceal my weakness from the enemy, conceal it also from our friends, and add to their wonder.

I do not utter this by way of complaint. I am sensible that all that the Congress could do, they have done; and I should feel most powerfully the weight of conscious ingratitude, were I not to acknowledge this. But as

* Congress had resolved, that, if General Washington and his council should be of the opinion, that a successful attack could be made on the troops in Boston, he should make it, notwithstanding the town and property in it might thereby be destroyed.

we have accounts of the arrival of powder by Captain Mason, I would beg to have it sent on in the most expeditious manner; otherwise we shall not only lose all chance of the benefits resulting from the season, but of the militia, who are brought in at a most enormous expense, upon a presumption that we should, long ere this, have been amply supplied with powder, under the contracts entered into with the committee of Congress.

I have the honor to be, &c.*

TO MAJOR-GENERAL LEE.

Cambridge, 26 February, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I received your esteemed favor of the 14th instant, which gave me great pleasure, being impatient to hear from you. I rejoice to find that you are getting better, and I could not avoid laughing at Captain Parker's reasons for not putting his repeated threats into execution.† I take notice of your intended dispositions for

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* On the 16th of February a council was held, in which the Commander-in-chief advanced what he deemed strong reasons for making an immediate assault on the town of Boston, by proceeding from Cambridge and Roxbury over the ice, which was then frozen sufficiently hard. This opinion was overruled by the council on the grounds, that there was not force enough for such an attempt, that the army was deficient in arms and powder, and that the impression of the field-officers generally was unfavorable to such a measure. It was, however, resolved, that a cannonade and bombardment would be advisable as soon as there should be a proper supply of powder, and that in the mean time preparations ought to be made for taking possession of Dorchester Heights, and of Noddle's Island also, if it could be effected.

† General Lee had written; — "The governor, and the captain of a man-of-war, had threatened perdition to the town, if the cannon were removed from the batteries and wharves; but I ever considered their threats

defence, which I request you will lose no time in putting into execution, as, from many corroborating accounts I have received, the enemy seem to prepare for their departure from Boston. They have removed the two mortars from Bunker's Hill, and carried them with a great part of their heavy brass cannon on board their ships. They have taken all the topsail vessels in the harbour into the service. They are ready watered, and their sails bent. All this show may be only a feint; but if real, and they should come your way, I wish you may be prepared to receive them. If I find that they are in earnest, and do go off, I will immediately send you a reinforcement from this camp, and, if necessary, march the main body to your assistance, as circumstances may require. I shall keep a good watch on their motions, and give you the speediest information possible.

Lechmere's Point is now very strong; I am sending some heavy cannon thither. The platform for a mortar is preparing to be placed in the works there; another at Lamb's Dam; and we are making the necessary disposition to possess ourselves of Dorchester Heights, which must bring them on if any thing will. If they do not interrupt us in that work, I shall be confirmed in my opinion, that they mean to leave the town. A little time must now determine, whether they are resolved to

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as a *brutum fulmen*, and even persuaded the town to be of the same way of thinking. We accordingly conveyed them to a place of safety in the middle of the day, and no cannonade ensued. Captain Parker publishes a pleasant reason for his passive conduct. He says that it was manifestly my intention, and that of the New England men under my command, to bring destruction on this town, so hated for its loyal principles, but that he was determined not to indulge us; so remained quiet out of spite. The people here laugh at his nonsense, and begin to despise the menaces, which formerly used to throw them into convulsions. To do them justice, the whole show a wonderful alacrity; and, in removing the cannon, men and boys of all ages worked with the greatest zeal and pleasure. I really believe that the generality are as well affected as any on the continent."

maintain their present ground or look out for another post. I will now return to your letter.

The account you give of our New York brethren is very satisfactory. I should be glad to know how many men you are likely to have, that you can depend upon remaining with you. I very much fear, that the sailing of Clinton will keep back those, whom you expected from Pennsylvania. Let me hear from you upon this and every thing else that concerns you, as soon and as often as you possibly can. With respect to the Canada expedition, I assure you, that it was not my intention to propose your going there. I only meant what I thought would happen, that the Congress would make you that proposal. I am now of opinion, that you will have work enough upon your hands where you are; and make no doubt but your presence will be as necessary there, as it would be in Canada.* I am glad that Colonel Ritzema is gone to Congress, and I hope they will expedite an army thither, not only to preserve what we have already got, but also to possess ourselves of Quebec before it can be reinforced from Europe or elsewhere. It is an object of such vast importance, that it will be madness not to strain every sinew for effecting that purpose. I am in some pain for our little fleet, as I am informed that the Asia and Phœnix have sailed in

* By a resolve of Congress on the 17th of February, General Lee was ordered to take the command in Canada, and General Schuyler to take his place in New York. But the state of affairs at the south caused this arrangement to be changed, before it was carried into effect. On the 27th of February, Congress formed what were called the middle and southern military departments; the former consisting of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland; and the latter of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. General Lee was directed, March 1st, to take command of the southern department, and on the 7th he left New York, in compliance with that order. Four brigadiers, Armstrong, Lewis, Howe, and Moore, appointed the same day, were likewise ordered to that department.

quest of it. You doubtless had good reasons for the appointment you mention having made;* as it is temporary, it can have no bad effect.

I am with great regard, yours, &c.

TO THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Cambridge, 26 February, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

As I am making all possible preparation to take possession of the Heights of Dorchester, which I expect I shall be able to accomplish by the latter end of this week, it is believed that this, if any thing can, will bring the enemy out of Boston to oppose, as at Charlestown, our erecting any works there. To weaken our lines on the north side of Cambridge River, to strengthen those of Dorchester before any movement is made that way by the enemy, may neither be consistent with prudence nor good policy; and to delay it till after an attack is begun, would be too late, as the contest will soon be decided for or against us, after this happens. In this state of the matter, and to avoid putting an affair of so much importance to a doubtful issue, when under Providence it may be reduced to a certainty, I submit it to the wisdom of your Board, whether it may not be best to direct the militia of certain towns, most contig-

* In General Lee's letter he had said; — "You must pardon me for a liberty I have taken. You know that Sears was to collect our volunteers in Connecticut, but he thought he could not succeed, unless he had some nominal office and rank. I accordingly most imprudently, by virtue of the power deputed by you to me (which power you never deputed), appointed him adjutant-general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, for the expedition. It can have no bad consequences. The man was much tickled, and it added spurs to his *hat*. He is a creature of much spirit and public virtue."

uous to Dorchester and Roxbury, to repair to the lines at those places, with their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, instantly upon a signal given. If you approve of this, you will please to fix with General Thomas, who waits on you for that purpose, upon the signal to be given, and issue your notices accordingly.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Gentlemen, yours, &c.*

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 26 February, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

We have, under many difficulties on account of hard frozen ground, completed our work on Lechmere's Point. We have got some heavy pieces of ordnance placed there, two platforms fixed for mortars, and every thing ready for any offensive operation. Strong guards are now mounted there, and at Cobble Hill.

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* "*February 26th.* All officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers are positively forbid playing at cards and other games of chance. At this time of public distress, men may find enough to do in the service of their God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality.

"As the season is now fast approaching, when every man must expect to be drawn into the field of action, it is highly important that he should prepare his mind, as well as every thing necessary for it. It is a noble cause we are engaged in; it is the cause of virtue and mankind; every temporal advantage and comfort to us and our posterity depends upon the vigor of our exertions; in short, freedom or slavery must be the result of our conduct; there can therefore be no greater inducement to men to behave well. But it may not be amiss for the troops to know, that if any man in action shall presume to skulk, hide himself, or retreat from the enemy without the orders of his commanding officer, he will be instantly shot down as an example of cowardice; cowards having too frequently disconcerted the best formed troops, by their dastardly behaviour."— *Orderly Book.*

About ten days ago the severe freezing weather formed some pretty strong ice from Dorchester to Boston Neck, and from Roxbury to the Common. This I thought, knowing the ice could not last, a favorable opportunity to make an assault upon the troops in town. I proposed it in council; but behold, though we had been waiting all the year for this favorable event, the enterprise was thought too dangerous. Perhaps it was; perhaps the irksomeness of my situation led me to undertake more than could be warranted by prudence. I did not think so, and I am sure yet, that the enterprise, if it had been undertaken with resolution, must have succeeded; without it, any would fail; but it is now at an end, and I am preparing to take post on Dorchester Heights, to try if the enemy will be so kind as to come out to us. Ten regiments of militia, you must know, had come in to strengthen my hands for offensive measures; but what I have said respecting the determinations in council, and the possessing of Dorchester Point, is spoken under the rose. I am, &c.

TO MISS PHILLIS WHEATLEY.*

Cambridge, 28 February, 1776.

MISS PHILLIS,

Your favor of the 26th of October did not reach my hands, till the middle of December. Time enough,

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* Phillis Wheatley was born in Africa, and brought to Boston in a slave-ship, in the year 1761, then between seven and eight years of age. She was purchased by Mr. Wheatley, but she soon discovered qualities so interesting and peculiar, that she was treated more as an inmate of the family, than as a slave. She made an extraordinary progress in acquiring the English language, and, without any advantage from schools, learned reading and writing, and manifested the greatest eagerness for gleaning knowledge. Her taste inclined to poetry; she read and relished the best

you will say, to have given an answer ere this. Granted. But a variety of important occurrences, continually interposing to distract the mind and withdraw the attention, I hope will apologize for the delay, and plead my excuse for the seeming but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed; and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents; in honor of which, and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not been apprehensive, that, while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This, and nothing else, determined me not to give it place in the public prints.

If you should ever come to Cambridge, or near head-quarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favored by the Muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations. I am, with great respect, your obedient humble servant.

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authors, and soon began to compose verses. Meantime the attention of the community was turned to so singular a phenomenon, and she was visited and noticed by people of the first character. Her correspondence was sought, and it extended to persons of distinction even in England, among whom may be named the Countess of Huntingdon, Whitefield, and the Earl of Dartmouth. In 1773, when she was nineteen years of age, a volume of her poems was published in London, some of which had been written five or six years. This volume is dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon, and in the preface are the names of the Governor of Massachusetts, and several other eminent gentlemen, bearing testimony to their belief of her having been the genuine writer of the poems. In whatever order of merit they may be ranked, it cannot be doubted, that they exhibit the most favorable evidence on record, of the capacity of the African intellect for improvement. The classical allusions are numerous, and imply a wide compass of reading, a correct judgment, good taste, and a tenacious memory. Her deportment is represented to have been gentle and unpretending, her temper amiable, her feelings refined, and her religious im-

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 3 March, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Your favors of the 28th of January, and 1st and 8th of February, are come to hand. For the agreeable accounts, contained in one of them, of your progress in the manufacture of powder, and prospect of getting arms, I am obliged to you; as there is some consolation in knowing, that these useful articles will supply the wants of some part of the Continental troops, although I feel too sensibly the mortification of having them withheld from me; Congress not even thinking it necessary to take the least notice of my application for these things.

I hope in a few nights to be in readiness to take post on Dorchester Point, as we are using every means in our power to provide materials for this purpose; the ground being so hard frozen yet, that we cannot intrench, and therefore are obliged to depend entirely upon chandeliers, fascines, and screwed hay for our redoubts. It is expected that this work will bring on an action between the King's troops and ours.

General Lee's expedition to New York was founded upon indubitable evidence of General Clinton's being on

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pressions strong and constant. She was married, at what time is uncertain, to Mr. John Peters, a man of her own color, whom tradition reports to have been little qualified for conferring happiness on so gifted a companion. She died at Boston, December 5th, 1784, aged thirty-one years. [I have not been able to find, among Washington's papers, the letter and poem addressed to him. They have doubtless been lost.] From the circumstance of her invoking the muse in his praise, and from the tenor of some of her printed pieces, particularly one addressed to King George seven years before, in which she compliments him on the repeal of the Stamp Act, it may be inferred, that she was a whig in politics after the American way of thinking; and it might be curious to see in what manner she would eulogize liberty and the rights of man, while herself, nominally at least, in bondage.

the point of sailing. No place was so likely for his destination as New York, and no place where a more capital blow could be given to the interests of America. Common prudence, therefore, dictated the necessity of preventing an evil, which might have proved irremediable, had it happened. But I confess to you honestly, I had no idea of running the Continent to the expense, which was incurred, or that such a body of troops would go from Connecticut as did, or be raised upon the terms they were. You must know, my good Sir, that Captain Sears was here, with some other gentlemen of Connecticut, when the intelligence of Clinton's embarkation (at least the embarkation of the troops) came to hand. The situation of these lines would not afford a detachment. New York could not be depended upon; and of the troops in Jersey we had no certain information, either as to their numbers or destination. What then was to be done? Why Sears and these other gentlemen assured me, that if the necessity of the case was signified by me, and General Lee should be sent, one thousand volunteers, requiring no pay, but supplied with provisions only, would march immediately to New York, and defend the place, till Congress could determine what should be done, and that a line from me to Governor Trumbull to obtain his sanction would facilitate the measure. This I accordingly wrote in precise terms, intending that these volunteers, and such of the Jersey regiments as could be speedily assembled, should be thrown into the city for its defence, and for disarming the Tories upon Long Island, who, I understood, had become extremely insolent and daring. When, behold, instead of volunteers, consisting of gentlemen without pay, the Governor directed men to be voluntarily enlisted for this service upon Continental pay and allowance. This, you will observe, was contrary to my ex-

pectation and plan; yet, as I thought it a matter of the last importance to secure the communication of the North River, I did not deem it expedient to countermand the raising of the Connecticut regiments on account of the pay. If I have done wrong, those members of Congress, who think the matter ought to have been left to them, must consider my proceedings as an error of judgment, and that a measure is not always to be judged by the event.

It is moreover worthy of consideration, that in cases of extreme necessity like the present, nothing but decision can ensure success; and certain I am, that Clinton had something more in view by peeping into New York, than to gratify his curiosity, or make a friendly visit to his friend Mr. Tryon. However, I am not fond of stretching my powers; and if the Congress will say, "Thus far and no farther you shall go," I will promise not to offend whilst I continue in their service.

I observe what you say in respect to my wagon. I wanted nothing more, than a light travelling-wagon, such as those of New Jersey, with a secure cover, which might be under lock and key, the hinges being on one side, the lock on the other. I have no copy of the memorandum of the articles, which I desired you to provide for me, but think one dozen and a half of camp stools, a folding table, plates, and dishes, were among them. What I meant, therefore, was, that the bed of the wagon should be constructed in such a manner, as to stow these things to the best advantage. If you cannot get them with you, I shall despair of providing them here, as workmen are scarce, and most exorbitantly high in their charges. What I should aim at is, when the wagon and things are ready (which ought to be very soon, as I do not know how soon we may beat a march), to buy a pair of clever horses, of the same color,

hire a careful driver, and let the whole come off at once; and then they will be ready for immediate service. I have no doubt that the treasury, by application to Mr. Hancock, will direct payment thereof, without any kind of difficulty, as Congress must be sensible, that I cannot take the field without equipage, and after I have once got into a tent I shall not soon quit it. I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 7 March, 1776.

SIR,

On the 26th ultimo I had the honor of addressing you, and then mentioned that we were making preparations for taking possession of Dorchester Heights. I now beg leave to inform you, that a council of general officers having determined a previous bombardment and cannonade expedient and proper, in order to harass the enemy and divert their attention from that quarter, on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday nights last, we carried them on from our posts at Cobble Hill, Lechmere's Point, and Lamb's Dam.* Whether they did the enemy any considerable and what injury, I have not yet heard, but have the pleasure to acquaint you, that they greatly facilitated our schemes, and would have been attended with success equal to our most sanguine expectations, had it not been for the unlucky bursting of two thirteen and three ten inch mortars, among which was the brass one taken in the ordnance brig. To what cause to attribute this misfortune, I know not; whether to any defect in them, or to the inexperience of the bombardiers.

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* The position of a battery in Roxbury.

But to return; on Monday evening, as soon as our firing commenced, a considerable detachment of our men, under the command of Brigadier-General Thomas, crossed the neck, and took possession of the two hills, without the least interruption or annoyance from the enemy; and by their great activity and industry, before the morning, advanced the works so far as to be secure against their shot. They are now going on with such expedition, that in a little time I hope they will be complete, and enable our troops stationed there to make a vigorous and obstinate stand. During the whole cannonade, which was incessant the two last nights, we were fortunate enough to lose but two men; one, a lieutenant, by a cannon-ball taking off his thigh; the other, a private, by the explosion of a shell, which also slightly wounded four or five more.

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Our taking possession of Dorchester Heights is only preparatory to taking post on Nook's Hill, and the points opposite to the south end of Boston. It was absolutely necessary, that they should be previously fortified, in order to cover and command them. As soon as the works on the former are finished, measures will be immediately adopted for securing the latter, and making them as strong and defensible as we can. Their contiguity to the enemy will make them of much importance and of great service to us. As mortars are essential, and indispensably necessary for carrying on our operations, and for the prosecution of our plans, I have applied to two furnaces to have some thirteen-inch ones cast with all expedition imaginable, and am encouraged to hope, from the accounts I have had, that they will be able to do it. When they are done, and a proper supply of powder obtained, I flatter myself, from the posts we have just taken and are about to take, that it will be in our power to force the ministerial troops to

an attack, or to dispose of them in some way, that will be of advantage to us. I think from these posts they will be so galled and annoyed, that they must either give us battle or quit their present possessions. I am resolved that nothing on my part shall be wanting to effect the one or the other.

It having been the general opinion, that the enemy would attempt to dislodge our people from the Heights, and force their works as soon as they were discovered, which probably might have brought on a general engagement, it was thought advisable, that the honorable Council * should be applied to, to order in the militia from the neighbouring and adjacent towns. I wrote to them on the subject, which they most readily complied with; and, in justice to the militia, I cannot but inform you, that they came in at the appointed time, and manifested the greatest alertness, and determined resolution to act like men engaged in the cause of freedom.

When the enemy first discovered our works in the morning, they seemed to be in great confusion, and, from their movements, to intend an attack. It is much to be wished, that it had been made. The event, I think, must have been fortunate, and nothing less than success and victory on our side, as our officers and men appeared impatient for the appeal, and to possess the most animated sentiments and determined resolution. On Tuesday evening a considerable number of their troops embarked on board of their transports, and fell down to the Castle, where part of them landed before dark. One or two of the vessels got aground, and were fired at by our people with a field-piece, but without any damage. What was the design of this embarkation and landing, I have not been able to

* The Council of the Massachusetts legislature.

learn. It would seem as if they meant an attack; for it is most probable, that, if they make one on our works at Dorchester at this time, they will first go to the Castle, and come from thence. If such was their design, a violent storm that night, which lasted till eight o'clock the next day, rendered the execution of it impracticable. It carried one or two of their vessels ashore, which they have since got off.

In case the ministerial troops had made an attempt to dislodge our men from Dorchester Heights, and the number detached upon the occasion had been so great as to have afforded a probability of a successful attack being made upon Boston; on a signal given from Roxbury for that purpose, agreeably to a settled and concerted plan, four thousand chosen men, who were held in readiness, were to have embarked at the mouth of Cambridge River, in two divisions, the first under the command of Brigadier-General Sullivan, the second under Brigadier-General Greene; the whole to have been commanded by Major-General Putnam. The first division was to land at the powder-house, and gain possession of Beacon Hill and Mount Horam; the second at Barton's Point, or a little south of it, and, after securing that post, to join the other division, and force the enemy's gates and works at the neck, for letting in the Roxbury troops. Three floating batteries were to have preceded, and gone in front of the other boats, and kept up a heavy fire on that part of the town where our men were to land.

How far our views would have succeeded, had an opportunity offered for attempting the execution, it is impossible for me to say. Nothing less than experiment could determine with precision. The plan was thought to be well digested; and, as far as I could judge from the cheerfulness and alacrity, which distinguished the

officers and men, who were to engage in the enterprise, I had reason to hope for a favorable and happy issue.* The militia, who were ordered in from the adjacent towns, brought with them three days' provision. They were only called upon to act under the idea of an attack being immediately made, and were all discharged this afternoon. I beg leave to remind Congress, that three major-generals are essential and necessary for this army; and that, by General Lee's being called from hence to the command in Canada, the left division is without one. I hope they will fill up the vacancy by the appointment of another. General Thomas is the first brigadier, stands fair in point of reputation, and is esteemed a brave and good officer. If he is promoted, there will be a vacancy in the brigadier-generals, which it will be necessary to supply by the appointment of some other gentleman that shall be agreeable to Congress; but justice requires me to mention, that William Thompson, of the rifle regiment, is the first colonel in this department, and, as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, is a good officer and a man of courage. What I have said of these two gentlemen, I conceive to be my duty, at the same time acknowledging, whatever promotions are made will be satisfactory to me.

March 9th. — The account given by Captain Irvine, as to the embarkation, and their being about to leave the town, I believe true.† There are other circum-

* He wrote to Colonel Reed, in relation to this affair; — "I will not lament or repine at any act of Providence, because I am in a great measure a convert to Mr. Pope's opinion, that 'Whatever is, is right'; and I think every thing had the appearance of a successful issue, if we had come to an engagement on that day. It was the 5th of March, which I recalled to their remembrance as a day never to be forgotten. An engagement was fully expected, and I never saw spirits higher, or more ardor prevailing."

† Captain Irvine had escaped the night before from Boston, with six other persons, and had visited head-quarters.

stances corroborating; and it seems fully confirmed by a paper signed by four of the selectmen of the town (a copy of which I have the honor to enclose to you), which was brought out yesterday evening by a flag, and delivered to Colonel Learned, by Major Bassett, of the tenth regiment, who desired it might be delivered to me as soon as possible. I advised with such of the general officers upon the occasion as I could immediately assemble; and we determined it right (as it was not addressed to me, nor to any one else, nor authenticated by the signature of General Howe, or any other act obliging him to a performance of the promise mentioned on his part), that I should give it no answer; at the same time, that a letter should be returned, as going from Colonel Learned, signifying his having laid it before me; with the reasons assigned for not answering it. A copy of this is sent.*

To-night I shall have a battery thrown up on Nook's Hill, Dorchester Point, with a design of acting as circumstances may require; it being judged advisable to prosecute our plans of fortification, as we intended before this information from the selectmen came. It being agreed on all hands, that there is no possibility of stopping them in case they determine to go, I shall order look-outs to be kept upon all the head-lands, to discover their movements and course, and moreover direct Commodore Manly and his little squadron to dog them, as well for the same purpose, as for picking up any of their vessels, that may chance to depart from their convoy. From their loading with such precipitancy, it is presumable they will not be in the best condition for sea.

If the ministerial troops evacuate the town and leave it standing, I have thoughts of taking measures for forti-

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* See APPENDIX, No. XIV.

fying the entrance into the harbour, if it shall be thought proper, and the situation of affairs will admit of it. Notwithstanding the report from Boston, that Halifax is the place of their destination, I have no doubt but that they are going to the southward, and, I apprehend, to New York. Many reasons lead to this opinion. It is in some measure corroborated by their sending an express ship there, which, on Wednesday week, got on shore and bilged at Cape Cod. The despatches, if written, were destroyed when she was boarded. She had a parcel of coal, and about four thousand cannon-shot, six carriage-guns, a swivel or two, and three barrels of powder.

I shall hold the riflemen and other parts of our troops in readiness to march at a moment's warning, and govern my movements by the events that happen, or such orders as I may receive from Congress, which I beg may be ample, and forwarded with all possible expedition. I have the honor to be, &c.

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 7 March, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 18th ultimo came to my hands by post last night, and gives me much pleasure, as I am led to hope I shall see you in my family again. The terms upon which you come will be perfectly agreeable to me, and I should think you neither candid nor friendly, if your communications on this subject had not been free, unreserved, and divested of that false modesty, which too often prevents the elucidation of points important to be known. Mr. Baylor seeming to have an inclination

to go into the artillery, and Colonel Knox being desirous of it, I have appointed Mr. Moylan and Mr. Palfrey my aids-de-camp, so that I shall, if you come, have a good many writers about me.

I think my countrymen made a capital mistake, when they took Henry out of the senate to place him in the field; and pity it is, that he does not see this, and remove every difficulty by a voluntary resignation. I am of opinion, that Colonel Armstrong, if he retains his health, spirits, and vigor, would be as fit a person as any they could send to Virginia, as he is senior officer to any now there, and I should think could give no offence; but to place Colonel Thompson there, in the first command, would throw every thing into the utmost confusion; for it was by mere chance that he became a colonel upon this expedition, and by greater chance that he became first colonel in this army. To take him then from another colony, place him over the heads of several gentlemen, under or with whom he has served in a subordinate character, would never answer any other purpose, than that of introducing endless confusion. Such a thing surely cannot be in contemplation; and, knowing the mischiefs it would produce, surely Colonel Thompson would have more sense, and a greater regard for the cause he is engaged in, than to accept of it, unless some uncommon abilities or exertions had given him a superior claim. He must know, that nothing more than being a captain of horse in the year 1759 (I think it was) did very extraordinarily give him the start he now has, when the rank was settled here. At the same time, he must know another fact, that several officers now in the Virginia service were much his superiors in point of rank, and will not I am sure serve under him. He stands first colonel here, and may, I presume, put in a very good and proper claim to the first brigade that

falls vacant; but I hope more regard will be paid to the service, than to send him to Virginia.

The bringing of Colonel Armstrong into this army as major-general, however great his merit, would introduce much confusion. Thomas, if no more, would surely quit, and I believe him to be a good man. If Thomas supplies the place of Lee, there will be a vacancy for either Armstrong or Thompson; for I have heard of no other valiant son of New England waiting promotion, since the advancement of Frye, who has not, and I doubt will not, do much service to the cause.

I am sorry to hear of your ill-fated fleet. We had it, I suppose because we wished it, that Hopkins had taken Clinton, and his transports. How glorious would this have been! We have the proverb on our side, however, that "a bad beginning will end well." This applies to land and sea service. The account given of the business of the commissioners from England seems to be of a piece with Lord North's conciliatory motion last year, built upon the same foundation, and, if true that they are to be divided among the colonies to offer terms of pardon, it is as insulting as that motion;* and only designed, after stopping all intercourse with us, to set us up to view in Great Britain, as a people that will not hearken to any propositions of peace. Was there ever any thing more absurd, than to repeal the very acts, which have introduced all this confusion and bloodshed, and at the same time enact a law to restrain all intercourse with the colonies for opposing them? The drift and design are obvious; but is it possible that any sensible nation upon earth can be imposed upon by such a cobweb scheme, or gauze covering? But enough.

* It was at first reported, that it was the design of the British government to send over a large number of commissioners to America, and that they were to make advances to the colonies separately.

March 9th.—Colonel Bull's still waiting to see a little further into the event of things gives me an opportunity of adding, that from a gentleman out of Boston, confirmed by a paper from the selectmen there, we have undoubted information of General Howe's preparing with great precipitancy to embark his troops; for what place we know not; Halifax, it is said. The selectmen, being under dreadful apprehensions for the town, applied to General Robertson to apply to General Howe, who through General Robertson has informed them, that it is not his intention to detroy the town, unless his Majesty's troops should be molested during their embarkation, or at their departure. This paper seems so much under covert, unauthenticated, and addressed to nobody, that I sent word to the selectmen, that I could take no notice of it; but I shall go on with my preparations as intended. The gentlemen above mentioned out of Boston say, that they seem to be in great consternation there, that one of our shot from Lamb's Dam disabled six men in their beds, and that the Admiral upon discovering our works next morning informed the General that, unless we were dispossessed of them, he could not keep the King's ships in the harbour; and that three thousand men, commanded by Lord Percy, were actually embarked for that purpose. Of the issue of it you have been informed before. I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 13 March, 1776.

SIR,

In my letter of the 7th and 9th instant, which I had the honor of addressing you, I mentioned the intelligence I had received respecting the embarkation of the

troops from Boston; and fully expected, before this, that the town would have been entirely evacuated. Although I have been deceived, and was rather premature in the opinion I had then formed, I have little reason to doubt but the event will take place in a very short time, as other accounts, which have come to hand since, of the sailing of a great number of transports from the harbour to Nantasket Road, and many circumstances corresponding therewith, seem to confirm and render it unquestionable. Whether the town will be destroyed, is a matter of much uncertainty; but it would seem, from the destruction they are making of sundry pieces of furniture, of many of their wagons and carts, which they cannot take with them as it is said, that it will not; for, if they intended it, the whole might be involved in one general ruin.

Holding it of the last importance in the present contest, that we should secure New York, and prevent the enemy from possessing it, and conjecturing they have views of that sort, and their embarkation to be for that purpose, I judged it necessary, under the situation of things here, to call a council of general officers to consult on such measures, as might be expedient to be taken at this interesting conjuncture of affairs. A copy of the proceedings I have the honor to enclose to you. Agreeably to the opinion of the council, I shall detach the rifle regiment to-morrow, under the command of Brigadier-General Sullivan, with orders to repair to New York with all possible expedition; which will be succeeded the day after by the other five in one brigade, they being all that it was thought advisable to send from hence, till the enemy shall have quitted the town. Immediately upon their departure, I shall send forward Major-General Putnam, and follow myself with the remainder of the army, as soon as I have it in my power,

leaving here such a number of men, as circumstances may seem to require.

As the badness of the roads at this season will greatly retard the march of our men, I have, by advice of the general officers, written to Governor Trumbull by this express, to use his utmost exertions for throwing a reinforcement of two thousand men into New York, from the western parts of Connecticut; and to the commanding officer there, to apply to the Provincial Convention or Committee of Safety of New Jersey, for a thousand more for the same purpose, to oppose the enemy and prevent their getting possession, in case they arrive before the troops from hence can get there; of which there is a probability, unless they are impeded by contrary winds. This measure, though it may be attended with considerable expense, I flatter myself will meet with the approbation of Congress. Past experience, and the lines in Boston and on Boston Neck, point out the propriety, and suggest the necessity, of keeping our enemies from gaining possession and making a lodgment. Should their destination be further southward, or for Halifax, as reported in Boston, for the purpose of going into Canada, the march of our troops to New York will place them nearer the scene of action, and more convenient for affording succour. We have not taken post on Nook's Hill, and fortified it, as I mentioned we should in my last. On hearing, that the enemy were about to retreat and leave the town, it was thought imprudent and unadvisable to force them with too much precipitation, that we might gain a little time and prepare for a march. To-morrow evening we shall take possession of it, unless they are gone. As New York is of such importance, prudence and policy require that every precaution, that can be devised, should be adopted to frustrate the designs, which the enemy

have of possessing it. To this end I have ordered vessels to be provided, and held ready at Norwich, for the embarkation and transportation of our troops thither. This I have done with a view not only of greatly expediting their arrival, as it will save several days' marching, but also that they may be fresh and fit for intrenching and throwing up works of defence, as soon as they get there, if they do not meet the enemy to contend with; for neither of which would they be in a proper condition, after a long and fatiguing march in bad roads. If Wallace, with his ships, should be apprized of the measure, and attempt to prevent it by stopping up the harbour of New London, they can but pursue their march by land.

You will please to observe, that it is the opinion of the general officers, if the enemy abandon the town, that it will be unnecessary to employ or keep any part of this army for its defence; and that I have mentioned, on that event happening, I shall immediately repair to New York with the remainder of the army not now detached, leaving only such a number of men here as circumstances may seem to require. What I partly allude to is, that,—as it will take a considerable time for the removal of such a body of men, and the divisions must precede each other in such order as to allow intermediate time sufficient for them to be covered and provided for, and many things done previous to the march of the whole, for securing and forwarding such necessaries, as cannot be immediately carried, and others which it may be proper to keep here,— directions might be received from Congress respecting the same, and as many men ordered to remain for that and other purposes, as they may judge proper. I could wish to have their commands upon the subject, and in time, as I may be under some degree of embarrassment as to their views. Congress

having been pleased to appoint Colonel Thompson a brigadier-general, there is a vacancy for a colonel in the regiment he commanded, to which I would beg leave to recommend Lieutenant-Colonel Hand. I shall also take the liberty of recommending Captain Hugh Stephenson, of the Virginia riflemen, to succeed Colonel Hand, and to be appointed in his place as lieutenant-colonel, there being no major to the regiment, since the promotion of Major Magaw to be lieutenant-colonel of one of the Pennsylvania battalions, who is gone from hence. He is, in my opinion, the fittest person in this army for it, as well as the oldest captain in the service, having distinguished himself at the head of a rifle company all the last war, and highly merited the approbation of his superior officers. I am, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL LEE.

Head-Quarters, Cambridge, 14 March, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I am indebted to you for your three several favors, which I should have acknowledged sooner, had not the great hurry and bustle we have been in for several days past prevented. You have doubtless heard, before this time, of our being in possession of Dorchester Hill, which important business was executed in one night, without any loss. The enemy were thrown into the utmost consternation, when they perceived, the next morning, what had been effected the preceding night, and made preparations to dislodge us. Three thousand men under the command of Lord Percy were drafted for this service; but a very heavy storm of wind and rain frustrated their design; in my opinion the most fortunate circumstance for them and unfortunate for us,

that could have happened, as we had every thing so well prepared for their reception, that I am confident we should have given a very good account of them. I was just about to congratulate you on your appointment to the command in Canada, when I received the account that your destination was altered. As a Virginian, I must rejoice at the change; but as an American, I think you would have done more essential service to the common cause in Canada. For, besides the advantage of speaking and thinking in French, an officer who is acquainted with their manners and customs, and has travelled in their country, must certainly take the strongest hold of their affection and confidence.

You mention nothing of the guard, that went with you from hence. Mr. Palfrey tells me you intend to take them with you. As it will create great confusion in the regimental accounts, and they can be of no great service to you, I must beg you will let them remain at New York, where they will be soon joined by their respective regiments. I am much pleased with your plans for the defence and security of New York. What you may leave unfinished, I shall order the commanding officer to complete, as soon as possible. Lest the enemy should meet with favorable winds in their passage, and get there before our army, I have written to Governor Trumbull, desiring him immediately to forward two thousand men, and have also requested one thousand from the Jerseys. This, with the force already there, I hope will be able to keep the ministerial army at bay, until I can arrive with the main body. I most sincerely wish for your increase of health and every blessing, and am, dear Sir, your most affectionate friend and humble servant.

TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER AT NEW YORK.

Cambridge, 14 March, 1776.

SIR,

I have stronger reasons, since I wrote to you last, to confirm me in my opinion, that the army under General Howe is on its departure. All their movements indicate it; but lest it be a feint, I must continue on my guard, and not weaken my lines too much, until I have a certainty of their departure. It is given out, that they are bound to Halifax; but I am of opinion, that New York is their place of destination. It is an object worthy of their attention, and it is the place that we must use every endeavour to keep from them. For should they get that town, and the command of the North River, they can stop the intercourse between the northern and southern colonies, upon which depends the safety of America.

My feelings upon this subject are so strong, that I would not wish to give the enemy a chance of succeeding at your place. I shall, therefore, despatch a regiment, and some independent companies of riflemen this day; and to-morrow, or as soon as it conveniently can be done, five more regiments will set out from this camp. I cannot part with more while the enemy remain in sight; but I have written to Governor Trumbull to send you two thousand men, as soon as he possibly can. If you can get one thousand from New Jersey, with the militia of the country called in, if not repugnant to the will of Congress, I think you can make a sufficient stand, until I can with the main body of this army join you; which you may depend will be as soon as possible, after I can with any degree of certainty tell their route.

The plan of defence formed by General Lee, is, from

what little I know of the place, a very judicious one. I hope, nay, I dare say, it is carrying into execution with spirit and industry. You may judge from the enemy's keeping so long possession of the town of Boston against an army superior in numbers, and animated with the noble spirit of liberty; I say, you may judge by that, how much easier it is to keep an enemy from forming a lodgment in a place, than it will be to dispossess them, when they get themselves fortified. As I have in my last told you, that the fate of this campaign, of course the fate of America, depends upon you and the army under your command, should the enemy attempt your quarter, I will dwell no more thereon, though the vast importance of the subject would make an apology for repetition needless. I am, Sir, &c.*

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* Lord Stirling took the command at New York, on General Lee's departure for the southward, March 7th, and this letter was received by him. He replied on the 20th; —

"I am happy to find, that the aid I called in from New Jersey and Connecticut exactly coincurs with your sentiments. The two regiments of Connecticut now here, consisting of about five hundred rank and file each, are impatient to go home, as many of them are farmers who want to make out their summer's work. The time of their engagement with General Lee ends next Monday. I have used my best endeavours to prevail on them to stay, till their places are supplied from that quarter, but it is still doubtful whether they will consent to it. Of this I have apprized Governor Trumbull, and have requested him to make up the whole two thousand from that colony. From New Jersey I have requested one thousand men; about two hundred of them are come in. About one thousand are ordered from the northern counties of this province. None of them is yet arrived.

"We have now in this place and on Long Island about two thousand five hundred men, including the above two Connecticut regiments. The militia in town amount to about as many more. Near one half of the whole are on fatigue every day, carrying into execution the plan of defence formed by General Lee. They go on with great spirit and industry. The Congress have ordered eight thousand men for the defence of this city and province. The corps to make up this number are four regiments from Pennsylvania, one from New Jersey, and four from this province, none of which is yet arrived, and most of them are incomplete and unfit to

TO GOVERNOR COOKE.

Cambridge, 17 March, 1776.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that this morning the ministerial troops evacuated the town of Boston, without destroying it, and that we are now in full possession. Upon this event, I beg leave to congratulate you, and I sincerely wish, if the ministry persevere in the same unconstitutional and despotic measures, which too long have marked their conduct, that our opposition and resistance, in every quarter, may be crowned with the success they have been here.* To what place is their destination, or what plans they have in view, is altogether unknown here. Most probably the next attempt will be against New York, or some more southern colony. However, I should think, though I do not believe they have any design against Rhode Island, that it will

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march, especially those of this province, of whom not above two hundred are yet in town; and some of them I find are to be employed on Hudson's River, and in the northern parts of the province.

"P. S. Brigadier-General Thompson is arrived here this day, and of course takes the command; my utmost industry will be exerted to assist him in it."

Besides the eight brigadiers first appointed, Congress had on the 10th of January added two others, Arnold and Frye. And on the 1st of March they elected six more, namely, John Armstrong, William Thompson, Andrew Lewis, James Moore, Lord Stirling, and Robert Howe. Congress at the same time ordered Thompson to New York, and as he took rank of Stirling in the order of appointment, the command consequently devolved on him. He had been Colonel of the Pennsylvania battalion of riflemen. Edward Hand was chosen his successor.

* The following account appeared in the *Boston Gazette* shortly after the evacuation.

"About nine o'clock, on the 17th instant, a body of the enemy were seen to march from Bunker's Hill, and at the same time a very great number of boats, filled with troops, put off from Boston, and made for the shipping, which mostly lay below the Castle. On the first discovery of

be advisable to keep a strict look-out; and I submit it to you, whether it may not be proper, against the time you apprehend they might arrive, to call in a number of the militia, and have them posted in proper places. I do not mean to direct the measure, but only to mention it for your consideration. To me it appears worthy of attention. I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Head-Quarters, Cambridge, 19 March, 1776.

SIR,

It is with the greatest pleasure I inform you that on Sunday last, the 17th instant, about nine o'clock in the forenoon, the ministerial army evacuated the town of Boston, and that the forces of the United Colonies are now in actual possession thereof. I beg leave to congratulate you, Sir, and the honorable Congress, on this happy event, and particularly as it was effected without endangering the lives and property of the remaining unhappy inhabitants.

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these movements, the Continentals immediately paraded, several regiments embarked in boats, and proceeded down the river from Cambridge. About the same time two men were sent to Bunker's Hill to make discoveries. They proceeded accordingly; and, when arrived, making a signal that the fort was evacuated, a detachment was immediately sent down from the army to take possession of it. The troops in the river, who were commanded by General Putnam, landed at Sewall's Point, where they received intelligence, that all the British troops had left Boston, on which a detachment was sent to take possession of the town, while the main body returned up the river. About the same time General Ward, attended by about five hundred troops from Roxbury, under the command of Colonel Learned, who unbarred and opened the gates, entered the town in that quarter. The command of the whole being then given to General Putnam, he proceeded to take possession of all the important posts."

Gordon relates, that when the British retreated from Bunker's Hill, they left sentries standing in effigy, with their muskets shouldered, and having the usual appearance of being on duty.

I have great reason to imagine their flight was precipitated by the appearance of a work, which I had ordered to be thrown up last Saturday night on an eminence at Dorchester, which lies nearest to Boston Neck, called Nook's Hill. The town, although it has suffered greatly, is not in so bad a state as I expected to find it; and I have a particular pleasure in being able to inform you, Sir, that your house has received no damage worth mentioning. Your furniture is in tolerable order, and the family pictures are all left entire and untouched. Captain Cazneau takes charge of the whole, until he shall receive further orders from you. As soon as the ministerial troops had quitted the town, I ordered a thousand men (who had had the smallpox), under command of General Putnam, to take possession of the heights, which I shall endeavour to fortify in such a manner, as to prevent their return, should they attempt it. But, as they are still in the harbour, I thought it not prudent to march off with the main body of the army, until I should be fully satisfied they had quitted the coast. I have, therefore, only detached five regiments, besides the rifle battalion, to New York, and shall keep the remainder here till all suspicion of their return ceases.

The situation in which I found their works evidently discovered, that their retreat was made with the greatest precipitation. They have left their barracks and other works of wood at Bunker's Hill all standing, and have destroyed but a small part of their lines. They have also left a number of fine pieces of cannon, which they first spiked up, also a very large iron mortar; and, as I am informed, they have thrown another over the end of your wharf. I have employed proper persons to drill the cannon, and doubt not I shall save the most of them. I am not yet able to procure an exact list of all

the stores they have left. As soon as it can be done, I shall take care to transmit it to you. From an estimate of what the quartermaster-general has already discovered, the amount will be twenty-five or thirty thousand pounds. Part of the powder mentioned in yours of the 6th instant has already arrived. The remainder I have ordered to be stopped on the road, as we shall have no occasion for it here. The letter to General Thomas, I immediately sent to him. He desired leave, for three or four days, to settle some of his private affairs; after which, he will set out for his command in Canada.* I am happy that my conduct in intercepting Lord Drummond's letter is approved of by Congress. I have the honor to be, &c.

PROCLAMATION

ON THE EVACUATION OF BOSTON.

Whereas the ministerial army has abandoned the town of Boston, and the forces of the United Colonies under my command are in possession of the same; I have therefore thought it necessary for the preservation of peace, good order, and discipline, to publish the following orders, that no person offending therein may plead ignorance as an excuse for his misconduct.

All officers and soldiers are hereby ordered to live in the strictest peace and amity with the inhabitants; and no inhabitant, or other person, employed in his lawful

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* On the 6th of March, Congress promoted General Thomas from the rank of brigadier to that of major-general, and appointed him to command in Canada, thus superseding General Wooster, who had commanded there since the death of Montgomery.

business in the town is to be molested in his person or property, on any pretence whatever.

If any officer or soldier shall presume to strike, imprison, or otherwise ill-treat any of the inhabitants, he may depend on being punished with the utmost severity; and if any officer or soldier shall receive any insult from any of the inhabitants, he is to seek redress in a legal way, and no other.

Any non-commissioned officer or soldier, or others under my command, who shall be guilty of robbing or plundering in the town, are to be immediately confined, and will be most rigidly punished. All officers are therefore ordered to be very vigilant in the discovery of such offenders, and report their names and crime to the commanding officer in the town, as soon as may be.

The inhabitants and others are called upon to make known to the quartermaster-general, or any of his deputies, all stores belonging to the ministerial army, that may be remaining or secreted in the town; any person or persons whatsoever, that shall be known to conceal any of the said stores, or appropriate them to his or their own use, will be considered as an enemy to America, and treated accordingly.

The selectmen and other magistrates of the town are desired to return to the Commander-in-chief the names of all or any person or persons, they may suspect of being employed as spies upon the Continental army, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

All officers of the Continental army are enjoined to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of their duty, and to promote peace and good order. They are to prevent, as much as possible, the soldiers from frequenting tippling-houses, and strolling from their posts. Particular notice will be taken of such officers as are inattentive and remiss in their duty; and, on the contrary,

such only as are active and vigilant will be entitled to future favor and promotion.

Given under my hand, at Head-Quarters, in Cambridge, the 21st day of March, 1776.

TO THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

2 Mass 12
152 I, 503

Cambridge, 21 March, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

Ere now, I was in hopes of congratulating you on the departure of the ministerial troops, not only from your capital, but country. That they still remain in the harbour, after having been five days embarked, affords matter of speculation, and, collected as their force is now, of apprehension. This circumstance, the security of Boston by a work on Fort Hill and the demolition of the lines on the Neck, and preservation of the stores belonging to the King for Continental use, by a proper search after them, rendered it indispensably necessary for me to throw some troops into the town immediately, it coming within the line of my duty. But, notwithstanding all the precaution, which I have endeavoured to use, to restrain and limit the intercourse between the town and army and country for a few days, I greatly fear that the smallpox will be communicated.

So soon as the fleet sets sail, my attention must be turned to another quarter, and most of the Continental regiments now here must be marched off. It may be necessary, therefore, for you, Gentlemen, to consider the state of your harbour, and think of such works as may be found necessary for the defence of it, and of the town also, in case another armed force, which I by no means expect, should be sent hither. I shall leave three or four regiments for the security of the stores, and

for throwing up such works as shall be deemed necessary for the purposes above mentioned; and shall direct the officer commanding them to receive such instructions, in respect to the latter, as you may think proper to give. It has been suggested to me, that, in the town of Boston, there is a good deal of property belonging to refugees, and such other inimical persons as, from the first of the present dispute, have manifested the most unfriendly disposition to the American cause; and that part of this property is in such kind of effects, as can be easily transported, concealed, or changed. I submit to you, therefore, Gentlemen, the expediency of having an inquiry made into this matter, before it is too late for redress, leaving the decision thereupon (after the quantum, or value, is ascertained, and held in a state of durance) to the consideration of a future day. I have ordered, that no violence be offered by the soldiery, either to the persons or property of those people; wishing that the matter may be taken into consideration by your honorable body, and in such a way as you shall judge most advisable.* The enclosed came to me a

* The whole number of refugees, who left Boston with the British army, was more than a thousand. The following statement is taken from the official return, made to the government, and now deposited in the public offices in London. Members of the council, commissioners, custom-house officers, and other persons who had been in some official station, one hundred and two; clergy, eighteen; persons from the country, one hundred and five; merchants and other inhabitants of Boston, two hundred and thirteen; farmers, traders, and mechanics, three hundred and eighty-two; total, nine hundred and twenty-four. All these returned their names on their arrival in Halifax. About two hundred others did not return their names.

On the 25th of April, General Howe wrote from Halifax to Lord George Germain;—"Many of the principal inhabitants of Boston under the protection of the army, having no means of subsistence here, apply to me to find them a passage to Europe, which they cannot otherwise get than at a most exorbitant rate. They have my assurance, that the first transport that can be spared shall be given up for this purpose. I am sorry to inform your Lordship, that there is an absolute necessity of issuing pro-

few days ago, and I beg leave to recommend the purport of it to the consideration of the Court. I shall take the liberty to add, as my opinion, that the Congress expect nothing else, than that the field-officers of the Massachusetts regiments should receive the same pay, as those of the other colonies have done; and that they expected, at the time the pay was fixed, that fifteen pounds to a colonel, twelve pounds to a lieutenant-colonel, and ten pounds to a major, was the actual establishment of this government. I could wish, therefore, that they were allowed it, to remove the jealousies and uneasiness which have arisen. I am, with great respect and esteem, Gentlemen, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

2 Mass. 14
152. I, 521

Cambridge, 24 March, 1776.

SIR,

When I had the honor to address you on the 19th instant, upon the evacuation of the town of Boston by the ministerial army, I fully expected, as their retreat and embarkation were hurried and precipitate, that, before now, they would have departed from the harbour, and been far on their passage to the place of destination. But, to my surprise and disappointment, the fleet is still in Nantasket Road. The purpose inducing their stay is

visions to the whole of them, about eleven hundred, from the King's stores, without any prospect of stopping it. It must be confessed, that many, having quitted the whole of their property and estates, some of them very considerable in value, are real objects of his Majesty's most gracious attention." — *MS. Letter.*

By the army returns it likewise appears, that the British troops, including officers, at the time of the evacuation, amounted to eight thousand nine hundred and six men. This number is about fourteen hundred larger, than history has recorded on the authority of a British orderly book. They sailed for Halifax in seventy-eight ships and transports.

altogether unknown; nor can I suggest any satisfactory reason for it. On Wednesday night last, before the whole of the fleet fell down to Nantasket, they demolished the Castle, and houses belonging to it, by burning them down, and the several fortifications. They left a great number of the cannon, but have rendered all of them, except a very few, entirely useless, by breaking off the trunnions. Those few they spiked up; but they may be made serviceable again; some are already done. There are several vessels in the docks, which were taken by the enemy, some with and others without cargoes, which different persons claim as their property and right. Are they to be restored to their former owners, on making proof of their title, or to belong to the Continent, as captures made from the enemy? I wish Congress would direct a mode of proceeding against them, and establish a rule for decision. These appear to me to be highly necessary. In like manner, some of the cannon, which are in Boston, are said to have come from the Castle. Supposing them, with those remaining at the Castle, to have been purchased by and provided originally at the expense of this province, are they now to be considered as belonging to it, or to the public? I beg leave to refer the matter to the opinion of Congress, and pray their direction how I am to conduct respecting them.

It having been suggested to me, that there was considerable property belonging to persons, who had, from the first of the present unhappy contest, manifested an unfriendly and inveterate disposition, in the town of Boston, I thought it prudent to write to the honorable General Court upon the subject, that it might be inquired after and secured. A copy of the letter I herewith send you, and submit it to Congress, whether they will not determine how this property is to be disposed

of, and as to the appropriation of the money arising from the sale of the same.

As soon as the town was abandoned by the enemy, I judged it advisable to secure the several heights, lest they should attempt to return; and, for this purpose, have caused a large and strong work to be thrown up on Fort Hill, a post of great importance, as it commands the whole harbour, and, when fortified, if properly supported, will greatly annoy any fleet the enemy may send against the town, and render the landing of their troops exceedingly difficult, if not impracticable. This work is almost done, and in a little time will be complete; and, that the communication between the town and country may be free and open, I have ordered all the lines upon the Neck to be immediately destroyed, and the other works on the sides of the town facing the country, that the inhabitants from the latter may not be impeded, but afforded an easy entrance, in case the enemy should gain possession at any future time.* These matters I conceived to be within the line of my duty; of which I advised the General Court, and recommended to their attention such other measures, as they might think necessary for securing the town against the hostile designs of the enemy.

I have just got an inventory of stores and property belonging to the crown, which the enemy left in Boston, at the Castle, and Bunker's Hill, which I have the honor to transmit to you; and shall give strict orders, that a

* "*March 23d.* — Colonel Gridley is to apply to General Ward for such men as are necessary for the demolition of the lines on Boston Neck, who is to see the work executed as fast as possible. The pickets and other useful materials to be preserved, and placed, so as to be ready when called for, under the care of sentries. Such parts of these works, as may be of service for our defence, are to be preserved. Colonel Knox will immediately lay out a battery upon Charlestown Point, to be executed under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Mason of the artillery." — *Orderly Book.*

careful attention be had to any more that may be found. I shall take such precautions respecting them, that they may be secure, and turn to the public advantage, as much as possible, or as circumstances will admit of. Major-General Ward and Brigadier-General Frye are desirous of leaving the service, and, for that purpose, have requested me to lay the matter before Congress, that they may be allowed to resign their commissions. The papers containing their applications you will herewith receive. These will give you a full and more particular information upon the subject, and, therefore, I shall take the liberty of referring you to them. There have been so many accounts from England, all agreeing that Commissioners are coming to America, to propose terms for an accommodation, as they say, that I am inclined to think the time of their arrival not very far off. If they come to Boston, which probably will be the case, if they come to America at all, I shall be under much embarrassment respecting the manner of receiving them, and the mode of treatment, that ought to be used. I therefore pray, that Congress will give me directions, and point out the line of conduct to be pursued; whether they are to be considered as ambassadors, and to have a pass or permit for repairing through the country to Philadelphia, or to any other place; or whether they are to be restrained in any and what manner. I shall anxiously wait their orders, and, whatever they are, comply with them literally. I have the honor to be, &c.*

* *In Congress, May 6th.* — "Resolved, that General Washington be informed, that Congress suppose, if Commissioners are intended to be sent from Great Britain to treat of peace, that the usual practice in such cases will be observed, by making previous application for the necessary passports or safe conduct; and on such application being made, Congress will then direct the proper measures for the reception of such Commissioners."

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 25 March, 1776.

My Dear Sir,

Since my last, things remain nearly *in statu quo.* The enemy have the best knack at puzzling people I ever met with in my life. They have blown up, burnt, and demolished the Castle totally, and are now all in Nantasket Road. They have been there ever since Wednesday. What they are doing, the Lord knows. Various are the conjectures. The Bostonians think their stay absolutely necessary to fit them for sea, as the vessels, neither in themselves nor their lading, were in any degree fit for a voyage, having been loaded in great haste and much disorder. This opinion is corroborated by a deserter from one of the transports, who says they have yards, booms, and bowsprits yet to fix. Others again think, that they have a mind to pass over the equinoctial gale before they put out, not being in the best condition to stand one; others, that they are a reinforcement, which I believe has arrived, as I have had an account of the sailing of fifteen vessels from the West Indies. But my opinion of the matter is, that they want to retrieve their disgrace before they go off, and I think a favorable opportunity presents itself to them. They have now got their whole force into one collected body, and no posts to guard. We have detached six regiments to New York, and have many points to look to, and, on Monday next, ten regiments of militia, which were brought in to serve till the first of April, will be disengaged. From former experience, we have found it as practicable to stop a torrent, as these people, when their time is up. If this should be the case now, what more favorable opening can the enemy wish for, to make a push upon our lines, nay, upon the back of our lines

at Roxbury, as they can land two miles from them and pass behind? I am under more apprehension from them now than ever, and am taking every precaution I can to guard against the evil; but we have a kind of people to deal with, who will not fear danger till the bayonet is at their breast, and then they are susceptible enough of it. I am fortifying Fort Hill in Boston, and demolishing the lines on the Neck there, as they are a defence against the country only, and making such other dispositions, as appear necessary for a general defence. I can spare no more men till I see the enemy's back fairly turned, and then I shall hasten towards New York.

You mention Mr. Webb in one of your letters for an assistant. He will be agreeable enough to me, if you think him qualified for the business. What kind of a hand he writes, I know not. I believe but a cramped one; latterly none at all, as he has either the gout, or rheumatism, or both. He is a man fond of company and gayety, and is of a tender constitution. Whether, therefore, such a person would answer your purpose so well as a plodding, methodical person, whose sole business should be to arrange his papers in such order as to produce any one at any instant it is called for, and capable at the same time of composing a letter, is what you have to consider. I can only add, that I have no one in view myself, and wish you success in your choice; being with great truth and sincerity, dear Sir, your affectionate servant.

P. S. I have taken occasion to hint to a certain gentleman in this camp, without introducing names, my apprehensions of his being concerned in trade. He protests most solemnly that he is not, directly nor indirectly.

TO COLONEL THOMAS MIFFLIN, QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL.

Instructions.

Sir,

As the motions of the enemy, and the operations of the ensuing campaign, render it indispensably necessary, that a very large body of troops should be immediately assembled at or near New York, you will immediately proceed to Norwich in Connecticut, where you will, in concert with the Brigadier-Generals Heath and Sullivan, regulate the embarkation of the brigades under their command, and settle all such matters with the commissary-general of provisions, and contracts for the transports, as may be further necessary for expediting the march of the rest of the army with the stores, artillery, and camp equipage. This being done, you will proceed without delay to New York; where your first care will be to provide barracks for the troops, firing, forage, and quarters for the general officers. Fix upon a proper house or houses for a general hospital, and stabling for the Continental draught-horses. Intrenching tools must also be immediately provided, with a sufficient quantity of joists and planks for platforms, and timber for gun-carriages; in short, every article necessary for the public service, and which your experience in the last campaign convinces you will be wanted in that now approaching.

The variety of the business of your department renders it next to impossible to point out particularly every duty of your office. Therefore, a latitude is given you in these orders and instructions, which, together with the directions and advice of the commanding general at New York, must be the rule for the future regulation of your conduct; and I shall at present only recom-

mend, that the same integrity, zeal, diligence, and activity, which has animated your past services, may govern that which is to come. Given at Head-Quarters, in Cambridge, this 24th day of March, 1776.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 27 March, 1776.

SIR,

I now beg leave to inform you, that I have just received intelligence that the whole of the ministerial fleet, besides three or four ships, got under way this evening at Nantasket Road, and were standing out for sea; in consequence of which, I shall detach a brigade of six regiments immediately for New York, under the command of Brigadier-General Sullivan (Brigadier-General Heath having gone with the first), which will be succeeded by another in a day or two; and, directly after, I shall forward the remainder of the army, except four or five regiments, which will be left for taking care of the barracks and public stores, and fortifying the town, and erecting such works for its defence, as the General Court may think necessary; and then follow myself. Apprehending that General Thomas will stand in need of some artillerists in Canada, I have ordered two companies of the train to march immediately; and two mortars, with a quantity of shells and shot, to be sent to him. He set out on the 21st instant.* Enclosed you have a copy of the return of ordnance stores left in Boston by the enemy. In it are not included the cannon left at the Castle, amounting to a hundred and

* Brigadier-General Thomas was promoted by Congress on the 6th of March, to the rank of major-general, and appointed to take the command in Canada.

thirty-five pieces, as reported, all of which, except a very few, they have destroyed, or rendered useless, by knocking off the trunnions, and spiking them up. I beg leave to transmit to you the copy of a petition from the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, brought to me by Jonathan Eddy, mentioned therein, who is now here with an Acadian; from which it appears, that they are in a distressed situation; and, from Mr. Eddy's account, they are exceedingly apprehensive, that they will be reduced to the disagreeable alternative of taking up arms and joining our enemies, or of fleeing their country, unless they can be protected against their insults and oppressions. He says that their committees think many salutary and valuable consequences would be derived from five or six hundred men being sent there, as it would not only quiet the minds of the people from the anxiety and uneasiness they are now filled with, and enable them to take a part in behalf of the colonies, but be the means of preventing the Indians, of whom there are a good many, from taking the side of government, and the ministerial troops from getting such supplies of provisions from thence as they have done.

How far these good purposes would be answered, if such a force were sent, as they ask for, it is impossible to determine in the present uncertain state of things. For, if the army from Boston is going to Halifax, as reported by them before their departure, that, or a much more considerable force would be of no avail; if not, and they possess the friendly disposition to our cause, suggested in the petition and declared by Mr. Eddy, it might be of great service, unless another body of troops should be sent thither by administration, too powerful for them to oppose. It being a matter of some importance, I judged it prudent to lay it before Congress for their consideration; and, requesting their direction upon the

subject, shall only add, if they determine to adopt it, that they will prescribe the number to be sent, and whether it is to be from the regiments, which will be left here. I shall wait their decision, and, whatever it is, will endeavour to have it carried into execution.*

I have the honor to be, &c.

ANSWER TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MASSACHUSTTS.

GENTLEMEN,

I return you my most sincere and hearty thanks for your polite address; and feel myself called upon by every principle of gratitude, to acknowledge the honor you have done me in this testimonial of your approbation of my appointment to the exalted station I now fill,

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* There seems to have been in Nova Scotia a strong spirit of opposition to the government, and a tendency to join with the other colonies in open resistance, particularly among the Acadians. The petition abovementioned was dated on the 8th of February, and signed by twelve persons, resident in Cumberland county, and members of different committees, who had acted, it would appear, with some degree of secrecy, and under fear of the government. Threatening proclamations had been issued, and measures adopted for raising a military force. The petitioners say; — "We agreed in our committees, that nothing should be done publicly, as it might instigate the others to fall upon us sooner than they intended, and as we could not tell what was the intention of the Continental Congress concerning us. Therefore we pray ardently, that your Excellency will please to relieve us, that we may be able to express our sentiments publicly, and join our little strength with the other colonies in preventing the ensigns of slavery from being set up in any part of this great empire. We further desire, that this our request may be kept a secret for the present."

A member of one of the committees also wrote a private letter to Washington, in which he said; — "The great contest between Britain and America has hitherto been only treated speculatively among us. I presume a sympathy with our brethren on the continent reigns in the breasts of the generality of the inhabitants. With gladness would we be active in the glorious struggle, if our situation and circumstances were

and, what is more pleasing, of my conduct in discharging its important duties.

When the councils of the British nation had formed a plan for enslaving America, and depriving her sons of their most sacred and invaluable privileges, against the clearest remonstrances of the constitution, of justice, and of truth, and, to execute their schemes, had appealed to the sword, I esteemed it my duty to take a part in the contest, and more especially on account of my being called thereto by the unsolicited suffrages of the representatives of a free people; wishing for no other reward, than that arising from a conscientious discharge of the important trust, and that my services might contribute to the establishment of freedom and peace, upon a permanent foundation, and merit the applause of my countrymen, and every virtuous citizen.

Your acknowledgment of my attention to the civil constitution of this colony, whilst acting in the line of my department, also demands my grateful thanks. A regard to every Provincial institution, where not incompatible with the common interest, I hold a principle of duty and of policy, and it shall ever form a part of my conduct. Had I not learnt this before, the happy experience of the advantages resulting from a friendly intercourse

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such, as to afford the least glimpse of success; but our remoteness from the other colonies and our form of government, joined with the indigence of the inhabitants, render it in a manner impossible without succour from some other quarter. As to the Acadians, I have dwelt among them near twenty years, and am well acquainted with their manners and ways. They are to a man wholly inclined to the cause of America. There are but about two hundred regular troops in Halifax, including raw recruits from Newfoundland and other places. Had we at present two or three hundred men, they would secure all that part of the province between this place and Halifax."

As the British army, lately embarked from Boston, had sailed for Halifax, it was of course inexpedient for Congress to attempt any relief to the petitioners by sending troops to Nova Scotia.

with your honorable body, their ready and willing concurrence to aid and to counsel, whenever called upon in cases of difficulty and emergency, would have taught me the useful lesson.

That the metropolis of your colony is now relieved from the cruel and oppressive invasions of those, who were sent to erect the standard of lawless domination, and to trample on the rights of humanity, and is again open and free for its rightful possessors, must give pleasure to every virtuous and sympathetic heart; and its being effected without the blood of our soldiers and fellow-citizens must be ascribed to the interposition of that Providence, which has manifestly appeared in our behalf through the whole of this important struggle, as well as to the measures pursued for bringing about the happy event.

May that Being, who is powerful to save, and in whose hands is the fate of nations, look down with an eye of tender pity and compassion upon the whole of the United Colonies; may he continue to smile upon their counsels and arms, and crown them with success, whilst employed in the cause of virtue and mankind. May this distressed colony and its capital, and every part of this wide extended continent, through his divine favor, be restored to more than their former lustre and once happy state, and have peace, liberty, and safety secured upon a solid, permanent, and lasting foundation.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL PUTNAM.

Instructions.

SIR,

As there are the best reasons to believe, that the enemy's fleet and army, which left Nantasket Road last

Wednesday evening, are bound to New York, to endeavour to possess that important post, and, if possible, secure the communication by Hudson's River to Canada, it must be our care to prevent them from accomplishing their designs. To that end, I have detached Brigadier-General Heath with the whole body of riflemen and five battalions of the Continental army, by the way of Norwich in Connecticut, to New York. These, by an express arrived yesterday from General Heath, I have reason to believe are in New York. Six more battalions under General Sullivan march this morning by the same route, and will, I hope, arrive there in eight or ten days at farthest. The rest of the army will immediately follow in divisions, leaving only a convenient space between each division, to prevent confusion and want of accommodation upon their march.

You will no doubt make the best despatch in getting to New York. Upon your arrival there, you will assume the command, and immediately proceed in continuing to execute the plan proposed by Major-General Lee, for fortifying that city and securing the passes of the East and North Rivers. If, upon consultation with the brigadier-generals and engineers, any alteration in that plan is thought necessary, you are at liberty to make it; cautiously avoiding to break in too much upon his main design, unless where it may be apparently necessary so to do, and that by the general voice and opinion of the gentlemen above mentioned.

You will meet the quartermaster-general, Colonel Mifflin, and the commissary-general, at New York. As they are both men of excellent talents in their different departments, you will do well to give them all the authority and assistance they require; and should a council of war be necessary, it is my direction they shall assist at it. Your long service and experience will, better

than any particular directions at this distance, point out to you the works most proper to be first raised; and your perseverance, activity, and zeal will lead you, without my recommending it, to exert every nerve to disappoint the enemy's designs.

Devoutly praying, that the Power, which has hitherto sustained the American arms, may continue to bless them with his divine protection, I bid you farewell. Given at Head-Quarters, in Cambridge, this 29th day of March, 1776.

TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

Cambridge, 31 March, 1776.

DEAR BROTHER,

Your letter of the 24th ultimo was duly forwarded to this camp by Colonel Lee, and gave me the pleasure of hearing that you, my sister, and family were well. After your post is established to Fredericksburg, the intercourse by letter may become regular and certain; and whenever time, little of which I have for friendly correspondences, will permit, I shall be happy in writing to you. I cannot call to mind the date of my last to you, but this I recollect, that I have written more letters than I have received from you.

The want of arms and powder is not peculiar to Virginia.* This country, of which doubtless you have

* The people on the Chesapeake Bay, and the rivers emptying into it, had been alarmed during the winter by reports, that the enemy were about to ascend with their ships and water-craft, and lay waste the country. To escape the threatened danger, many of the inhabitants retired to the interior, taking with them such parts of their property as could be removed. General Washington's residence on the banks of the Potomac was accessible to the approach of the largest ships, and it was rumored that the enemy intended paying it a visit. Mr. Lund Washington wrote to him from Mount Vernon; — "Alexandria is much alarmed, and indeed the

heard large and flattering accounts, is more deficient in both than you can conceive. I have been here months together, with (what will scarcely be believed) not thirty rounds of musket cartridges to a man; and have been obliged to submit to all the insults of the enemy's cannon for want of powder, keeping what little we had for pistol distance. Another thing has been done, which, added to the above, will put it in the power of this army to say, what perhaps no other with justice ever could say. We have maintained our ground against the enemy, under this want of powder, and we have disbanded one army, and recruited another, within musket-shot of two and twenty regiments, the flower of the British army, whilst our force has been but little if any superior to theirs; and, at last, have beaten them into a shameful and precipitate retreat out of a place the strongest by nature on this continent, and strengthened and fortified at an enormous expense.

As some account of the late manœuvres of both armies may not be unacceptable, I shall, hurried as I always am, devote a little time to it. Having received a small supply of powder, very inadequate to our wants, I resolved to take possession of Dorchester Point, lying east of Boston, looking directly into it, and commanding

whole neighbourhood. The women and children are leaving the town and stowing themselves in every hut they can find, out of the reach of the enemy's cannon. Every wagon, cart, and pack-horse, that can be got, is employed. The militia are all up, but not in arms, for indeed they have none, or at least very few. I could wish, if we are to have our neighbourhood invaded, that they would send a tender or two among us, that we might see how the people would behave on the occasion. They say they are determined to fight. I am about packing up your China and glass in barrels, and other things into chests, trunks, and bundles, and I shall be able at the shortest notice to remove them out of the way. I fear the destruction will be great, although the best care has been taken. Every body I see tells me, that if the people could have notice they would immediately come and defend your property, so long as they have life, from Loudoun, Prince William, Fauquier, and this county."

the enemy's lines on Boston Neck. To do this, which I knew would force the enemy to an engagement, or subject them to be enfiladed by our cannon, it was necessary, in the first instance, to possess two heights (those mentioned in General Burgoyne's letter to Lord Stanley, in his account of the battle of Bunker's Hill), which had the entire command of the point. The ground at this time being frozen upwards of two feet deep, and as impenetrable as a rock, nothing could be attempted with earth. We were obliged, therefore, to provide an amazing quantity of chandeliers and fascines for the work; and, on the night of the 4th, after a previous severe cannonade and bombardment for three nights together, to divert the enemy's attention from our real design, we removed every material to the spot, under cover of darkness, and took full possession of those heights, without the loss of a single man.

Upon their discovery of the works next morning, great preparations were made for attacking them; but not being ready before the afternoon, and the weather getting very tempestuous, much blood was saved, and a very important blow, to one side or the other, was prevented. That this most remarkable interposition of Providence is for some wise purpose, I have not a doubt. But, as the principal design of the manœuvre was to draw the enemy to an engagement under disadvantages to them, as a premeditated plan was laid for this purpose, and seemed to be succeeding to my utmost wish, and as no men seemed better disposed to make the appeal than ours did upon that occasion, I can scarcely forbear lamenting the disappointment, unless the dispute is drawing to an accommodation, and the sword going to be sheathed. But, to return, the enemy thinking, as we have since learnt, that we had got too securely posted, before the second morning, to be much

hurt by them, and apprehending great annoyance from our new works, resolved upon a retreat, and accordingly on the 17th embarked in as much hurry, precipitation, and confusion, as ever troops did, not taking time to fit their transports, but leaving the King's property in Boston, to the amount, as is supposed, of thirty or forty thousand pounds in provisions and stores. Many pieces of cannon, some mortars, and a number of shot and shells are also left; and baggage-wagons and artillery-carts, which they have been eighteen months preparing to take the field with, were found destroyed, thrown into the docks, and drifted upon every shore. In short, Dunbar's destruction of stores after General Braddock's defeat, which made so much noise, affords but a faint idea of what was to be met with here.

The enemy lay from the 17th to the 27th in Nantasket and King's Roads, about nine miles from Boston, to take in water from the islands thereabouts, and to prepare themselves for sea. Whither they are now bound, and where their tents will be next pitched, I know not; but, as New York and Hudson's River are the most important objects they can have in view, as the latter secures the communication with Canada, at the same time that it separates the northern and southern colonies, and the former is thought to abound in disaffected persons, who only wait a favorable opportunity and support to declare themselves openly, it became equally important for us to prevent their gaining possession of these advantages; and, therefore, as soon as they embarked, I detached a brigade of six regiments to that government, and, when they sailed, another brigade composed of the same number; and to-morrow another brigade of five regiments will march. In a day or two more, I shall follow myself, and be in New York ready to receive all but the first.

The enemy left all their works standing in Boston and on Bunker's Hill; and formidable they are. The town has shared a much better fate than was expected, the damage done to the houses being nothing equal to report. But the inhabitants have suffered a good deal, in being plundered by the soldiery at their departure. All those who took upon themselves the style and title of government-men in Boston, in short, all those who have acted an unfriendly part in this great contest, have shipped themselves off in the same hurry, but under still greater disadvantages than the King's troops, being obliged to man their own vessels, as seamen enough could not be had for the King's transports, and submit to every hardship that can be conceived. One or two have done, what a great number ought to have done long ago, committed suicide. By all accounts, there never existed a more miserable set of beings, than these wretched creatures now are. Taught to believe, that the power of Great Britain was superior to all opposition, and, if not, that foreign aid was at hand, they were even higher and more insulting in their opposition than the regulars. When the order issued, therefore, for embarking the troops in Boston, no electric shock, no sudden explosion of thunder, in a word, not the last trump could have struck them with greater consternation. They were at their wits' end, and, conscious of their black ingratitude, they chose to commit themselves, in the manner I have above described, to the mercy of the waves at a tempestuous season, rather than meet their offended countrymen.

I believe I may with great truth affirm, that no man perhaps since the first institution of armies ever commanded one under more difficult circumstances, than I have done. To enumerate the particulars would fill a volume. Many of my difficulties and distresses were of so pecu-

liar a cast, that, in order to conceal them from the enemy, I was obliged to conceal them from my friends, and indeed from my own army, thereby subjecting my conduct to interpretations unfavorable to my character, especially by those at a distance, who could not in the smallest degree be acquainted with the springs that governed it. I am happy, however, to find, and to hear from different quarters, that my reputation stands fair, that my conduct hitherto has given universal satisfaction. The addresses, which I have received, and which I suppose will be published, from the General Court of this colony, and from the selectmen of Boston upon the evacuation of the town, and my approaching departure from the colony, exhibit a pleasing testimony of their approbation of my conduct, and of their personal regard, which I have found in various other instances, and which, in retirement, will afford many comfortable reflections.

The share you have taken in the public disputes is commendable and praiseworthy. It is a duty we owe our country; a claim which posterity has upon us. It is not sufficient for a man to be a passive friend and well-wisher to the cause. This, and every other cause of such a nature, must inevitably perish under such an opposition. Every person should be active in some department or other, without paying too much attention to private interest. It is a great stake we are playing for, and sure we are of winning, if the cards are well managed. Inactivity in some, disaffection in others, and timidity in many, may hurt the cause. Nothing else can; for unanimity will carry us through triumphantly, in spite of every exertion of Great Britain, if we are linked together in one indissoluble bond. This the leaders know, and they are practising every stratagem to divide us, and unite their own people. Upon this

principle it is, that the restraining bill is passed, and commissioners are coming over. The device, to be sure, is shallow, the covering thin, but they will hold out to their own people, that the acts complained of are repealed, and commissioners sent to each colony to treat with us, and that we will attend to neither of them. This, upon weak minds among us, will have its effect. They wish for reconciliation; or, in other words, they wish for peace without attending to the conditions.

General Lee, I suppose, is with you before this. He is the first officer, in military knowledge and experience, we have in the whole army. He is zealously attached to the cause, honest and well-meaning, but rather fickle and violent, I fear, in his temper. However, as he possesses an uncommon share of good sense and spirit, I congratulate my countrymen * upon his appointment to

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* Before the revolution, and at the time now in view, it was common for persons to speak of their native colony as their *country*, and of the inhabitants of that colony as their *countrymen*. In this sense the word is used in the present instance, meaning *Virginians*. The same use of the word not unfrequently occurs in Washington's letters, before and during the revolution, and in other writings of that period.

General Lee, who was now at Williamsburg, wrote to Washington a letter dated April 5th, complimenting him on the evacuation of Boston in the following language.

"I most sincerely congratulate you, I congratulate the public, on the great and glorious event, your possession of Boston. It will be a most bright page in the annals of America, and a most abominably black one in those of the beldam Britain. Go on, my dear General, crown yourself with glory, and establish the liberties and lustre of your country on a foundation more permanent than the Capitol Rock. My situation is just as I expected. I am afraid I shall make a shabby figure, without any real demerits of my own. I am like a dog in a dancing-school. I know not where to turn myself, where to fix myself. The circumstances of the country intersected by navigable rivers, the uncertainty of the enemy's designs and motions, who can fly in an instant to any spot they choose with their canvass wings, throw me, and would throw Julius Cæsar, into this inevitable dilemma. I may possibly be in the north, when, as Richard says, I should serve my sovereign in the west. I can only act from surmise, and I have a very good chance of surmising wrong. I am sorry to

that department. As I am now nearly at the end of my eighth page, I think it time to conclude; especially, as I set out with prefacing the little time I had for friendly correspondences. I shall only add, therefore, my affectionate regards to my sister and the children, and compliments to friends; and that I am, with every sentiment of true affection, your loving brother and faithful friend.

TO JOSEPH REED.

Cambridge, 1 April, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 15th ultimo contained a very unfavorable account of the Carolinas, but I am glad to find by the subsequent one that the prospect brightens, and that Mr. Martin's first attempt has met with its deserved success. The old proverb, of "the first blow being half the battle," cannot better apply than in these instances, the spirits of the vanquished being depressed in proportion as the victors get elated. I am glad to find my camp equipage in such forwardness. I shall expect to meet it, and I hope you, at New York, for which place I am preparing to set out on Thursday or Friday next.

The accounts brought by Mr. Temple, of the favorable disposition in the ministry to accommodate matters, does not correspond with their speeches in Parliament. How then does he account for their inconsistency? If

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grate your ears with a truth, but must at all events assure you, that the Provincial Congress of New York are angels of decision, when compared with your countrymen, the Committee of Safety assembled at Williamsburg. Page, Lee, Mercer, and Payne are indeed exceptions; but from Pendleton, Bland, the Treasurer, and company, *libera nos, Domine.*"

the commissioners do not come over with full and ample powers to treat with Congress, I sincerely wish they may never put their feet on American ground, as it must be self-evident, in the other case, that they will come over with insidious intentions, to distract, divide, and create as much confusion as possible. How then can any man, let his passion for reconciliation be ever so strong, be so blinded and misled, as to embrace a measure evidently designed for his destruction? No man does, no man can, wish the restoration of peace more fervently than I do; but I hope, whenever made, it will be upon such terms, as will reflect honor upon the councils and wisdom of America. With you, I think a change in the American representation necessary. Frequent appeals to the people can be attended with no bad, but may have very salutary effects. My countrymen I know, from their form of government, and steady attachment heretofore to royalty, will come reluctantly into the idea of independence, but time and persecution bring many wonderful things to pass; and by private letters, which I have lately received from Virginia, I find "Common Sense" is working a powerful change there in the minds of many men.*

* Colonel Reed had written, March 3d; — "Notwithstanding the act of Parliament for seizing our property, and a thousand other proofs of a bitter and irreconcilable spirit, there is a strange reluctance in the minds of many to cut the knot, which ties us to Great Britain, particularly in this colony and to the southward. Though no man of understanding expects any good from the commissioners, yet they are for waiting to hear their proposals, before they declare off. However, yesterday I was informed, that letters had been sent to France, to know what encouragement we might expect from that quarter. Our coast is yet clear; it is a golden opportunity to make provision for the war, which I hope will not be lost." Again, March 15th; — "It is said the Virginians are so alarmed with the idea of independence, that they have sent Mr. Braxton on purpose to turn the vote of that colony, if any question on that subject should come before Congress. To tell you the truth, my dear Sir, I am infinitely more afraid of these commissioners, than of their generals and armies. If their propo-

The four thousand men destined for Boston on the 5th, if the ministerialists had attempted our works on Dorchester Heights, or the lines at Roxbury, were to have been headed by General Putnam. But he would have had pretty easy work of it, as his motions were to have been regulated by signals, and those signals by appearances. He was not to have made the attempt, unless the town had been drained, or very considerably weakened in its force. I am, &c.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL ARNOLD, IN CANADA.

Cambridge, 3 April, 1776.

SIR,

Your favor of the 27th of February is come to hand. I much fear you will be disappointed in the number of troops you expected in that month, as the lakes were impassable. I have despatched two companies of Colonel Knox's regiment of artillery to you from hence, two mortars, and other articles, as you will see at the foot hereof. If any thing else is wanting that cannot be had in Canada, and in my power to send, it shall be forwarded with all possible expedition, upon my being informed thereof. The chief part of the troops are marched hence towards New York. I shall set off tomorrow. If the enemy will not find us full employment and it is necessary, you may expect a detachment from

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sitions are plausible, and behaviour artful, I am apprehensive they will divide us. There is so much suspicion in Congress, and so much party on this subject, that very little more fuel is required to kindle the flame. It is high time for the colonies to begin a gradual change of delegates. Private pique, prejudice, and suspicion will make their way into the breasts of even good men sitting long in such a council as ours; and whenever that is the case, their deliberations will be disturbed, and the public interest of course will suffer."

thence to your assistance. I am very sorry, that the gentlemen from New York and other officers should think themselves neglected in the new arrangement. It is true that I reserved places in this army for those officers, who went from hence under your command. The Congress have since informed me, that they would be provided for in the army raised for Canada. I was not acquainted with the gentlemen, who complain, nor with their circumstances. There is little doubt, but their merits will be rewarded in due time.* I am very sensible of the many difficulties you have had to encounter. Your conduct under them does you great honor. As General Thomas will take the burthen off your shoulders, I hope you will soon gather strength sufficient to assist in finishing the important work, which you have with so much glory to yourself and service to your country hitherto conducted.

As I am informed, that there is a furnace somewhere near you, where shells and shot of any size can be cast, I would recommend to General Thomas to have the quantity of each, that may be wanting, immediately prepared. The roads are so very bad, that it is impossible to send you any great number of these necessary articles from hence. I have appointed Captain Lamb, who is a prisoner at Quebec, to be second major in the regiment of artillery, commanded by Colonel Henry Knox. The gentlemen of this family return you their compliments, and my best wishes attend General Thomas.

I remain, Sir, yours, &c.

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* The regiments sent to Canada from New York had never been included in the army under the immediate command of Washington, and for this reason they were not taken into the new arrangement. The officers complained of this neglect, particularly as Colonel Enos, and those with him, who deserted the expedition to Canada and returned home, had been promoted.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Cambridge, 4 April, 1776.

SIR,

It is not in my power to make report of the deficiency of arms, in compliance with the direction of Congress, at this time, as some of the regiments are at New York, and most of the others on their march; nor do I know that it would answer any good purpose, if it were, having made repeated applications to the several assemblies and conventions upon the subject, and constantly received for answer, that they could afford no relief. A proclamation of General Howe's, issued a few days before his departure from town, having fallen into my hands, I have enclosed you a copy, which may probably have been the occasion of large quantities of goods being carried away, and the removal of many persons, which otherwise would not have happened.*

Colonel Warren, paymaster-general, finding the army likely to be removed from hence, informed me the other day, that the situation of his affairs and engagements in the business of the colony are such, as to prevent him from personally attending the army; and offered, in case it should be required, to resign. This was rather embarrassing. To me it appears indispensably necessary that the paymaster-general, with his books, should be at or near head-quarters. Indeed it is usual for the head of every department in the army, however dispersed that army may be, to be with the commanding

* The following is an extract from the proclamation. — "As linen and woollen goods are articles much wanted by the rebels, and would aid and assist them in their rebellion, the Commander-in-chief expects, that all good subjects will use their utmost endeavours to have all such articles conveyed from this place." Provision was likewise made for receiving them on board a vessel.

general, keeping deputies in the smaller departments. On the other hand, Colonel Warren's merit and attachment to the cause are such, that I could do nothing less than desire, as some money must be left for the pay and contingent charges of the army which will remain here, that he would wait here till Congress shall be pleased to give their sentiments upon the matter.*

I would also mention to Congress, that the militia regiments, which were last called upon, in making up their abstracts, charged pay, the officers from the time they received orders to raise companies, and the privates from the time they respectively engaged to come, or were called upon, though they did not march for a considerable time after, some not within three, four, to twenty days, during all which they remained at home about their own private affairs, without doing any thing else than "preparing for the march," as they say by way of plea. This appeared to me so exceedingly unreasonable, and so contrary to justice, that the public should pay for a longer time than from the day of their march to that of their return, that I ordered the abstracts to be made out accordingly, and refused to give warrants on any other terms. They say that the enlisting orders, which went out from their governments, give them the pay they claim. The fact may be, that something in these may seem to authorize it; but I must submit it to Congress, and wish for their decision, whether the Continent must pay it. I am, &c.†

* Colonel Warren resigned the office of paymaster-general; and Colonel Palfrey was appointed as his successor on the 27th of April.

† Congress decided, that the pay of these troops should commence on the day of their march, and end on that of their return.

TO CAPTAIN SAMUEL McKAY.*

New Haven, 11 April, 1776.

Sir,

I received yours of the 9th instant, and could wish that it was in my power, consistently with the duty I owe my country, to grant you the relief you desire. I have made repeated applications to General Howe for an exchange of prisoners, but he has not thought proper to return me any answer. It has been in his power to set you at liberty; and if you are still continued a prisoner, the blame must lie entirely upon him.

The situation of your family is indeed distressing; but such is the event of war; it is far from being singular. The brave Colonel Allen, an officer of rank, has been torn from his dearest connexions, sent to England in irons, and is now confined to the most servile drudgery on board one of the King's ships. Your treatment, Sir, and that of the other officers taken in arms against the liberties of America, has been very different; for the truth of this I appeal to your own feelings. Whenever it is in my power to release you by a mutual exchange, I shall do it with the greatest pleasure; and am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

TO COMMODORE ESECK HOPKINS.†

New York, 14 April, 1776.

Sir,

I have just received information, that the Nautilus sloop of war is arrived here from Newport, said to be

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* A prisoner at this time in Hartford.

† Commodore Hopkins arrived in New London from a cruise on the 8th of April. He had made a descent upon Providence Island, and brought

sent express from thence for the Asia, Phœnix, and Savage, and that they are intended for New London in order to block up your squadron in that harbour. I thought it my duty to give you notice of this by express, that you might take your measures accordingly. The Phœnix, Savage, and Nautilus sailed this morning. The Asia still remains in the harbour. I should be much obliged to you, if you would forward the cannon and stores for which I left a list with you, as soon as possible; and as the men-of-war are now out, I should be extremely glad if you would keep a good look out to see that the coast is clear, before any more of the Continental troops embark from New London. I am, very respectfully, Sir, your most obedient servant.

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away Montfort Brown, governor of the island, Thomas Erwin, a member of the council, and Mr. Bavage, secretary, and a half-pay officer, and also seventy prisoners; besides a quantity of ordnance and military stores taken from Fort Nassau and Fort Montague. Among them were eighty-eight cannon, from nine to thirty-six pounders, fifteen mortars, more than five thousand shells, eleven thousand round shot, twenty-four casks of powder, and other articles of less importance.

The conduct of Commodore Hopkins in this cruise was disapproved by Congress. His orders were to annoy the enemy's ships on the coast of the southern states, and he was called before Congress to give his reasons for not complying with them after his descent upon Providence Island, instead of returning with his fleet to New London.

The President of Congress wrote to Washington on the 14th of June; — "The shameful inactivity of our fleet for some time past; the frequent neglect or disobedience of orders in Commodore Hopkins; the numberless complaints exhibited to the marine committee against him, and also against Captains Saltonstall and Whipple, have induced the Congress, in consequence of a representation from the marine committee, to order them to repair immediately to this city to answer for their conduct. I have accordingly written to them to set out, on the receipt of my letters, and to repair hither by land as fast as possible. I hope soon to have our ships on a more respectable footing. No efforts of mine shall be wanting to accomplish so desirable an event."

After due inquiry, deliberation, and debate, Congress voted, that the reasons offered by the Commodore were not satisfactory, and that he deserved the censure of that house, which censure was accordingly inflicted. — *Journals, August, 15th, 16th,* 1776. His achievement in taking

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 15 April, 1776.

Sir,

I am now to inform you, that on the 4th instant I set out from Cambridge, and arrived here on Saturday last. I came through Providence, Norwich, and New London, in order to see and expedite the embarkation of the troops. The third brigade, under the command of General Greene, was at New London when I left it, where there was a sufficient number of transports to embark them; and most probably they would have arrived here before this, had it not been for a severe storm, which happened the night they sailed, which dispersed them, and, I fear, has done them some injury. General Spencer, with the last brigade, marched from Roxbury the day I left Cambridge, and would be at New London, ready to embark in the return transports, which brought General Sullivan's division to this place. The whole of the troops may be reasonably expected here in the course of this week. The badness of the roads, and difficulty of procuring teams for bringing the stores and baggage, have greatly prolonged their arrival. I have not had time, since I came, to look fully about me; but I find many works of defence begun, and some finished. The troops are much dispersed, some on Long Island, others on Staten Island.

I have ordered four battalions from hence to Canada,

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the governor of a small island prisoner, and dismantling two forts feebly defended, did not comport with the dignity, which Congress had attached to the enterprise, nor the expectations they had formed in fitting out the first Continental fleet, at much expense, and in the face of many difficulties. Near the east end of Long Island, in returning from his cruise, Commodore Hopkins had a warm action with the British armed ship Glasgow, but that vessel escaped by the adroitness and good management of its commander.

and am taking measures to have them forwarded to Albany by water, with all possible expedition. This will greatly expedite their arrival, and ease the men of much fatigue. I have written to General Schuyler of their coming, that he may have necessary measures taken to hurry their march to General Thomas. I am informed by General Putnam that the militia, who were called in for the support of this town, in case the ministerial army had arrived before our troops, are all discharged, it being unnecessary to keep them longer. All the ships of war, besides the Asia, moved out of this harbour on Saturday, and the Asia yesterday; some of which are now below the Narrows, and the rest gone to sea.

Your favor of the 10th instant by Major Sherburne, directed to General Putnam or the commanding officer here, came to hand on Saturday evening, with three boxes of money, which I shall deliver to the paymaster as soon as he arrives, and transmit you his receipt for the same. Having received information from hence before my departure from Cambridge, that thirty pieces of heavy cannon were wanting, and essentially necessary for the defence of this place, in addition to those already here, I took the liberty of applying to Commodore Hopkins, whom I saw at New London, for that number, with the mortars and stores he brought from Providence Island, a list of which he had transmitted to you. He told me, that, as many were wanting for the defence of Providence River and the harbour at New London, it was uncertain whether I could have all I wanted; but that he would send me all that could be spared. I have not been able to get a return of the troops since I came. As soon as I do it, I will send it to you.

I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.

Rec'd 18th Answered &
Read, Clinton & Braxton

TO JOHN ADAMS, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 15 April, 1776.

SIR,

[This morning your polite letter of the 1st instant was delivered to me by Mr. Dana. I am much obliged to you for your introduction of that gentleman, and you may rely on my showing him every civility in my power.*]

I have ever thought, and am still of opinion, that no terms of accommodation will be offered by the British ministry, but such as cannot be accepted by America. We have nothing, my dear Sir, to depend upon but the protection of a kind Providence, and unanimity among ourselves. I am impressed with the deepest gratitude for the high honor intended me by Congress. Whatever device may be determined upon by the respectable committee they have chosen for that purpose will be highly agreeable to me.† I have the honor to be, most respectfully, Sir, your obedient and affectionate humble servant.

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* *From Mr. Adams's letter.* — "The bearer of this letter, Mr. Francis Dana of Cambridge, is a gentleman of family, fortune, and education, returned in the last packet from London, where he has been about a year. He has ever maintained an excellent character in his country, and a warm friendship for the American cause. He returns to share with his friends in their dangers and their triumphs. I have done myself the honor to give him this letter, for the sake of introducing him to your acquaintance, as he has frequently expressed to me his desire to embrace the first opportunity of paying his respects to a character so highly esteemed, and so justly admired throughout all Europe, as well as America. Mr. Dana will satisfy you, that we have no reason to expect peace from Great Britain."

† Alluding to a medal proposed to be struck by Congress to commemorate the evacuation of Boston. — See APPENDIX, No. XIV.

TO JOSEPH REED.

New York, 15 April, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 13th was this instant put into my hands, scarcely in time to acknowledge the receipt of it by this post, and to thank you for your great care and attention in providing my camp equipage.

I am exceedingly concerned to hear of the divisions and parties, which prevail with you, and in the southern colonies, on the score of independence. These are the shelves we have to avoid, or our bark will split and tumble to pieces. Here lies our great danger, and I almost tremble when I think of this rock. Nothing but disunion can hurt our cause. This will ruin it, if great prudence, temper, and moderation are not mixed in our counsels, and made the governing principles of the contending parties. When, my good Sir, will you be with me? I fear I shall have a difficult card to play in this government [New York], and could wish for your assistance and advice to manage it. I have not time to add more, except that with great sincerity and truth I am, dear Sir, your most obedient and affectionate humble servant.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF NEW YORK.

2 Mass 32

Head-Quarters, 17 April, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

There is nothing that could add more to my happiness, than to go hand in hand with the civil authority of this, or any other government, to which it may be my lot to be ordered; and, if in the prosecution of such measures as shall appear to me to have a manifest ten-

dency to promote the interest of the great American cause, I shall encounter the local convenience of individuals, or even of a whole colony, I beg it may be believed, that I shall do it with reluctance and pain; but, in the present important contest, the least of two evils must be preferred. That a continuance of the intercourse, which has hitherto subsisted between the inhabitants of this colony and the enemy on board their ships of war, is injurious to the common cause, requires no extraordinary abilities to prove. A moment's reflection not only evinces this truth, but points out the glaring absurdity of such a procedure. We are to consider ourselves either in a state of peace or of war with Great Britain. If the former, why are our ports shut up, our trade destroyed, our property seized, our towns burnt, and our worthy and valuable citizens led into captivity, and suffering the most cruel hardships? If the latter, my imagination is not fertile enough to suggest a reason in support of the intercourse.

In the weak and defenceless state, in which this city was some time ago, political prudence might justify the correspondence, which subsisted between the country and the enemy's ships of war; but, as the largest part of the Continental troops is now here; as many strong works are erected and erecting for the defence of the city and harbour, those motives no longer exist, but are absorbed in others of a more important nature. To tell you, Gentlemen, that the advantages of an intercourse of this kind are altogether on the side of the enemy, whilst we derive not the smallest benefit from it, would be telling what must be obvious to every one. It is, indeed, so glaring, that even the enemy themselves must despise us for suffering it to be continued; for, besides their obtaining supplies of every kind, by which they are enabled to continue in your harbours, it also opens

a regular channel of intelligence, by which they are, from time to time, made acquainted with the number and extent of our works, our strength, and all our movements; by which they are enabled to regulate their own plans, to our great disadvantage and injury. For the truth of this, I could produce instances; but, as it may be the subject of future discussion, I decline it at present.

It would, Gentlemen, be taking up too much of your time, to use further arguments in proof of the necessity of putting an immediate and total stop to all further correspondence with the enemy. It is my incumbent duty to effect this, convinced as I am of the disadvantages resulting from it; and it cannot be thought strange or hard, that, under such conviction, I should be anxious to remove an evil, which may contribute, not a little, to the ruin of the great cause we are engaged in, and may, in its effects, prove highly detrimental to this colony in particular.

In effecting the salutary purposes abovementioned, I could wish for the concurrence and support of your honorable body. It certainly adds great weight to the measures adopted, when the civil authority coöperates with the military to carry them into execution. It would also redound much to the honor of the government, and of your Committee in particular; for the world is apt to judge from appearances; and, while such a correspondence exists, the reputation of the whole colony will suffer in the eyes of their American brethren. It is therefore, Gentlemen, that I have taken the liberty to address you on this important subject, relying on your zeal and attachment to the cause of American liberty, for your assistance in putting a stop to this evil, and that you will coöperate with me in such measures as shall be effectual, either to prevent any future correspondence

with the enemy, or in bringing to condign punishment such persons, as may be hardy and wicked enough to carry it on, otherwise than by a prescribed mode, if any case can possibly arise to require it. I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, Gentlemen, &c.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

2 Manuc. 38 a L S. 152, 1, 591

New York, 18 April, 1776.

Sir,

Permit me, through you, to convey to the honorable Congress the sentiments of gratitude I feel for the high honor they have done me in the public mark of approbation contained in your favor of the 2d instant, which came to hand last night. I beg you to assure them, that it will ever be my highest ambition to approve myself a faithful servant of the public; and that to be in any degree instrumental in procuring to my American brethren a restitution of their just rights and privileges, will constitute my chief happiness.

Agreeably to your request, I have communicated, in general orders, to the officers and soldiers under my command, the thanks of Congress for their good be-

* The Committee acceded fully to this requisition, and the day following passed a resolution prohibiting all persons from holding any intercourse with the King's vessels in the harbour, on penalty of being dealt with in the severest manner as enemies to the rights and liberties of the United Colonies. The New York Committee of Safety began to assume a more firm and decided character, than had hitherto been shown either by the Committees or the Provincial Congress. In writing to Washington on the 25th of April, the Committee say, "The polite sensibility, with which you have been pleased to treat our attention to your requisition of the 17th instant affords us singular pleasure. Convinced with you, that there can be little doubt that things will go well under a harmonious co-operation of the civil and military powers, permit us once more, Sir, to assure you of our most vigorous exertions in seconding your efforts in the common cause."

haviour in the service; and I am happy in having such an opportunity of doing justice to their merit. They were indeed, at first, "*a band of undisciplined husbandmen*"; but it is, under God, to their bravery and attention to their duty, that I am indebted for that success, which has procured me the only reward I wish to receive, the affection and esteem of my countrymen. The medal, intended to be presented to me by your honorable body, I shall carefully preserve as a memorial of their regard. I beg leave to return you, Sir, my warmest thanks for the polite manner in which you have been pleased to express their sentiments of my conduct; and am, with sincere esteem and respect, Sir, your and their most obedient and most humble servant.*

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

New York, 19 April, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 12th instant from Fort George was delivered to me yesterday by express. I agree with you, that the intelligence is very alarming and requires the strictest attention.† The four regiments ordered from

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* See APPENDIX, No. XIV.

† When General Wooster left Montreal for Quebec, March 27th, the command of the former place devolved on Colonel Hazen, who wrote to General Schuyler, on the 1st of April, as follows.

"You are not unacquainted with the friendly disposition of the Canadians, when General Montgomery first penetrated into the country; the ready assistance which they gave on all occasions, by men, carriages, or provisions, was most remarkable. Even when he was before Quebec, many parishes offered their services in the reduction of that fortress, which were at that time thought unnecessary. But his most unfortunate fate, added to other incidents, has caused such a change in their disposition, that we no longer look upon them as friends, but on the contrary waiting an opportunity to join our enemies. That no observations of my own may remain obscure, I beg leave to observe, that I think the clergy, or guar-

hence are now embarking, and I hope they will soon be with you. I need not urge the necessity of forwarding them from Albany with all possible despatch. You will have with the troops five hundred barrels of provisions. The commissary-general expects every moment a large quantity from Connecticut, and what can be spared of it shall be sent to you in the same bottoms, without delay. What General Lee contracted for is not yet delivered. His sudden and unexpected departure to the southward left the contractors at a loss where to deliver the provisions, and apply for the pay. The commissary-general has since renewed the contract, and ordered them to send the provisions here. I have ordered a return to be made of the state of our magazine, and if

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dians of the souls and conductors of the bodies of these enthusiasts, have been neglected, perhaps in some instances ill-used. Be that as it will, they are unanimous, though privately, against our cause, and I have too much reason to fear many of them, with other people of some consequence, have carried on a correspondence the whole winter with General Carleton in Quebec, and are now plotting our destruction. The peasantry in general have been ill-used. They have, in some instances, been dragooned with the point of the bayonet to supply wood for the garrison at a lower rate than the current price. For carriages and many other articles furnished, certificates have been given not legible, without signature, the one half of consequence rejected by the quartermaster-general. It is true, payment has been promised from time to time; yet they look upon such promises as vague, their labor and property lost, and the Congress or United Colonies bankrupt. And in a more material point, they have not seen sufficient force in the country to protect them. These matters furnish very strong arguments to be made use of by our enemies. With respect to the better sort of people, both French and English, seven eighths are Tories, who would wish to see our throats cut, and perhaps would readily assist in doing it.

"You may remember, Sir, in a conversation with you at Albany, I urged the necessity of sending immediately to Canada able generals, a respectable army, a committee of Congress, a suitable supply of hard cash, and a printer. Indeed, I had before represented those measures in person to Congress, at least to the Committee of Congress, and we have since been flattered from time to time that we should have one or all of these essentials." — *MS. Letter.*

the powder you request can possibly be spared, you shall have it.

I have written to Congress to know whether they would incline to send you a further reinforcement of men; but we are yet in a very uncertain situation, not knowing where the enemy may bend their force, and constant applications are made from all quarters of the seacoast for a supply of men and ammunition. The recruits, that have been raised here, are totally unfurnished with arms, and, what is still worse, we do not know where to procure them. You, who know the temper and disposition of the savages, will, I doubt not, think with me, that it will be impossible to keep them in a state of neutrality. I have urged upon Congress the necessity of engaging them on our side, to prevent their taking an active part against us, which would be a most fatal stroke under our present circumstances.

The commotions among the Canadians are alarming. I am afraid proper measures have not been taken to conciliate their affections; but rather that they have been insulted and injured, than which nothing could have a greater tendency to ruin our cause in that country. For human nature is such, that it will adhere to the side from whence the best treatment is received. I therefore conjure you, Sir, to recommend to the officers and soldiers in the strongest terms to treat all the inhabitants, Canadians, English, and savages, with tenderness and respect, paying them punctually for what they receive, or giving them such certificates as will enable them to receive their pay. As you are perfectly well acquainted with the country and its inhabitants in and about Albany, I think it would be best for you to remain there, at least until the troops and all their supplies are forwarded from thence to Canada. Besides the four regiments ordered for that service, I shall send a com-

pany of riflemen, a company of artificers, and two engineers. I beg you will continue to furnish me with intelligence of every interesting occurrence, and believe me, most affectionately, your obedient humble servant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 19 April, 1776.

SIR,

You will please to notice what Colonel Hazen says of the disposition of the Indians.* In my opinion, it will be impossible to keep them in a state of neutrality. They must, and, no doubt, soon will take an active part either for or against us; and I submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether it would not be best immediately to engage them on our side, and to use our utmost endeavours to prevent their minds being poisoned by ministerial emissaries, which will ever be the case, while a King's garrison is suffered to remain in their country. Would it not therefore be advisable to send a sufficient force from the back counties of Pennsylvania, to take possession of the garrisons of Niagara and Detroit? This, I think, might easily be effected, and would answer the most salutary purposes. The Seneca Indians, who have hitherto appeared friendly to us, might be usefully employed in this business.

I am in hopes that most of the difficulties mentioned

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* Colonel Hazen had written from Montreal to General Schuyler;—"The savages hereabouts are cool; they keep aloof from us; we are to expect little or no friendship from them, and indeed little or no precaution has been taken for that purpose. It is expected by some, that numbers will come from the interior country, and fall on our frontiers early in the spring. The Canadians taking up arms so early against us is of the most important consequence. We have ourselves brought about by mismanagement, what Governor Carleton himself could never effect."

in Colonel Hazen's letter will be obviated by the appearance of the respectable committee of Congress in Canada, and the forces that have been and will be sent there. The security of that country is of the utmost importance to us. This cannot be done so effectually by conquest, as by taking strong hold of the affections and confidence of the inhabitants. It is to be lamented, that any conduct of the Continental troops should tend to alienate their affections from us. The honorable Congress will be able to judge from the papers sent them by General Schuyler, and the information they may receive of the designs of the enemy, whether it is expedient to send a further reinforcement to Canada. If such should be their determination, I stand ready to execute their orders; and am, with respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 22 April, 1776.

SIR,

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that the four regiments designed for Canada embarked yesterday with a fair wind for Albany, under the command of Colonels Greaton, Patterson, Bond, and Poor; besides which there was a company of riflemen, a company of artificers, and two engineers, the whole commanded by Brigadier-General Thompson. I have repeatedly mentioned to the honorable Congress the distressful situation we are in for want of arms. With much pains and difficulty I got most of the regiments from the eastward tolerably well furnished; but I find the New York regiments very badly provided. Colonel Ritzema's has scarcely any; and yet these men,

being enlisted during the war, and at five dollars per month, ought not, in my judgment, to be discharged; as we find it almost as difficult to get men as arms. This is a matter of some importance, which I should be glad to receive the particular opinion of Congress upon.* Mr. Baldwin is one of the assistant-engineers ordered to Canada. He is indeed a very useful man in his department, but he declined the service on account of his pay, which he says is inadequate to his support. In order to induce him to continue, I promised to represent his case to Congress; and would recommend an increase of his pay, and that he should have the rank of lieutenant-colonel, of which he is very deserving. I beg leave therefore to recommend him to the Congress, and that they would make provision for him accordingly.† A few days ago, application was made to me by the Committee of Safety for this colony for an exchange of prisoners. For the particulars I beg leave to refer you to their letter, a copy of which you have, enclosed. As there is a standing order of Congress, that no sailors or soldiers shall be exchanged for citizens, I did not incline to comply with the request without the particular direction of Congress; but I have been since informed, that the prisoners, mentioned in the Committee's letter as citizens, are really seamen taken from private vessels, but not in arms. How far this may alter the case, or how far the reasons which induced the Congress to pass the resolve abovementioned may still exist, must be left to their determination.

The militia, who, on my application, were ordered to this place to keep possession, until I should arrive with

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* Congress resolved, that no troops should be disbanded for want of arms.

† This recommendation was successful, and Mr. Baldwin was allowed the pay and rank of lieutenant-colonel on the Continental establishment.

the Continental forces, were obliged to return home without their pay, as there was not then money sufficient in the treasury for that purpose, and to answer the exigencies of the army. This occasioned great uneasiness among them, and may be attended with very bad consequences, in case we should have occasion for their service on any future emergency. I therefore beg the Congress would make provision for their pay, and point out particularly whether it is to be done by the commander of the Continental forces, or by the Provincial Assemblies or Conventions from whence they are sent.

As the time for which the riflemen enlisted will expire on the 1st of July next, and as the loss of such a valuable and brave body of men will be of great injury to the service, I would submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether it would not be best to adopt some method to induce them to continue. They are indeed a very useful corps; but I need not mention this, as their importance is already well known to the Congress. It is necessary they should pay an early attention to this matter, as we know from past experience that men are very slow in re-enlisting.* When I had the honor of seeing Commodore Hopkins at New London, he represented to me the weak state of his fleet, occasioned by sickness and the damage he received in his engagement with the enemy; and requested I would spare him two hundred men to assist him in a design he had formed of attacking Wallace. This I readily consented to; and the men are to be returned as soon as the ser-

* The companies of riflemen, raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, by order of Congress, were, by the terms of their enlistment, to serve one year, unless sooner discharged. Congress authorized and directed the officers of these companies, and of independent rifle companies, to re-enlist the men, and enlist recruits, for two years' service, liable to be sooner discharged upon receiving a month's pay in advance.

vice is performed. I wish it was in my power at present to furnish General Lee with the companies of artillery he desires. I have already sent two companies to Quebec; and I have not yet been able to procure a return of those that are here.* I expect Colonel Knox every moment, and shall then be able to determine whether any can be spared from hence.† Blankets we are in great want of ourselves; and it was with great difficulty a few could be procured for the riflemen, that were ordered for Canada.

April 23d. — In a letter, which I had the honor to receive from Congress some considerable time ago, they were pleased to ask what rank aids-de-camp bore in the army; from whence I concluded, that they had adverted to the extraordinary trouble and confinement of those gentlemen, with a view to make them an adequate allowance. But nothing having been since done or said of the matter, I take the liberty, unsolicited by, and unknown to my aids-de-camp, to inform your honorable body, that their pay is not by any means equal to their trouble and confinement. No person wishes more to save money to the public, than I do; and no person has aimed more at it. But there are some cases in which parsimony may be ill-placed; and this I take to be one. Aids-de-camp are persons in whom entire confidence must be placed; it requires men of abilities to execute the duties with propriety and despatch, where there is such a multiplicity of business, as must attend the Com-

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* There was a company of artillery in New York under Captain Alexander Hamilton, but it had been raised by the colony, and was not yet under the command of Washington.

† At the request of the Governor of Rhode Island, Colonel Knox had gone to Newport for the purpose of giving advice respecting the erection of works of defence at that place.

mander-in-chief of such an army as ours; and persuaded I am, that nothing but the zeal of those gentlemen, who live with me and act in this capacity, for the great American cause, and personal attachment to me, have induced them to undergo the trouble and confinement they have experienced, since they have become members of my family.

I give in to no kind of amusements myself; and consequently those about me can have none, but are confined from morning till evening, hearing and answering the applications and letters of one and another, which will now, I expect, receive a considerable addition, as the business of the northern and eastern departments, if I continue here, must, I suppose, pass through my hands. If these gentlemen had the same relaxation from duty as other officers have in their common routine, there would not be so much in it. But, to have the mind always upon the stretch, scarce ever unbent, and no hours for recreation, makes a material odds. Knowing this, and at the same time how inadequate the pay is, I can scarce find inclination to impose the necessary duties of their office upon them. To what I have here said, this further remark may be added, and it is a matter of no small concernment to me, and, in its consequences, to the public, namely, that, while the duty is hard and the pay small, it is not to be wondered at, if there should be found a promptness in them to seek preferment, or in me to do justice to them by facilitating their views; by which means I must lose their aid, when they have it most in their power to assist me. Influenced by these motives, I have taken the liberty of laying the matter before your honorable body, not doubting its meeting with a patient hearing. I am, &c.*

* The pay of an aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief was at first

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 25 April, 1776.

Sir,

I have not yet heard, that there has been any trial of the prizes carried into Massachusetts Bay. This procrastination is attended with very bad consequences. Some of the vessels I had fitted out are now laid up, the crews being dissatisfied that they cannot get their prize-money. I have tired the Congress upon this subject; but the importance of it makes me again mention, that, if a summary way of proceeding is not resolved on, it will be impossible to get our vessels manned. I must also mention to you, Sir, that Captain Manly and his crew are desirous to know when they may expect their part of the value of the ordnance stores taken last fall. They are anxious to know what the amount may be. As the inventory of that cargo is in the hands of Congress, I would humbly submit it to them, whether a valuation thereof should not be made, and the captors' dividend be remitted to them as soon as possible. It will give them spirit, and encourage them to be alert in looking out for other prizes.

Several officers belonging to the regiments raised in these middle colonies inform me, that their men, notwithstanding their agreement, begin to murmur at the distinction of pay made between them and the regiments from the eastward. I should be glad that the Congress would attend to this in time, lest it may get to such a pitch as will make it difficult to suppress. They argue that they perform the same duty, undergo the same fatigue, and receive five dollars, when the eastern

fixed at thirty-three dollars a month. In consequence of this letter, it was raised to forty dollars. The rank was that of lieutenant-colonel. The aids-de-camp of major-generals ranked as majors.

regiments receive six dollars and two thirds per month. For my own part, I wish they were all upon the same footing; for, if the British army will not face this way, it will be necessary to detach a great part of our troops. In that case, I should, for many reasons, be sorry there should be any distinctions of regiments, that are all in the pay of the United Colonies.

April 26th.—I have been honored with your favor of the 23d instant. In obedience to the order therein contained, I have directed six regiments more for Canada, which will embark as soon as vessels and other necessaries can be provided. These regiments will be commanded by General Sullivan. I shall give him instructions to join the forces in that country under General Thomas as soon as possible. With respect to sending more troops to that country, I am really at a loss what to advise, as it is impossible at present to know the designs of the enemy.* Should they send the whole force under General Howe up the river St. Lawrence, to relieve Quebec and recover Canada, the troops gone and now going will be insufficient to stop their progress; and should they think proper to send that or an equal force this way from Great Britain, for the purpose of possessing this city and securing the navigation of Hudson's River, the troops left here will not be sufficient to oppose them; and yet, for any thing we know, I think it not improbable they may attempt both; both being of the greatest importance to them, if they have men.

I could wish, indeed, that the army in Canada should be more powerfully reinforced; at the same time I am conscious, that the trusting of this important post, which

* Congress had requested the opinion of General Washington, whether it was necessary to send more troops to Canada, and whether he could with safety spare them from the army at New York.

is now become the grand magazine of America, to the handful of men remaining here is running too great a risk. The securing of this post and Hudson's River is to us also of so great importance, that I cannot at present advise the sending any more troops from hence; on the contrary, the general officers now here, whom I thought it my duty to consult, think it absolutely necessary to increase the army at this place with at least ten thousand men, especially when it is considered, that, from this place only, the army in Canada must draw its supplies of ammunition, provisions, and, most probably, of men; and that all reinforcements can be sent from hence much easier than from any other place. By the enclosed return, you will see the state of the army here, and that the number of effective men is far short of what the Congress must have expected.*

I have found it necessary to order Colonel Dayton's regiment from New Jersey to march as one of the six to Canada; wherefore I must recommend it to Congress to order two companies of one of the regiments still in Pennsylvania to march to Cape May, which can be done much sooner; for, had this destination of that regi-

* By the adjutant-general's return on the 28th of April, the number of troops present and fit for duty under General Washington's command was 8,101. Including those, who were sick, absent on furlough, and on command, the whole army at New York amounted to 10,235.

From the Orderly Book, June 27th.—"The riotous behaviour of some soldiers of the Continental army, yesterday and the evening before, has filled the General with much regret and concern; and lays him under the disagreeable necessity of declaring, that if the like behaviour should be practised again, the authors will be brought to the severest punishment, if taken, or treated as a common enemy if they dare to resist. Men are not to carve out remedies for themselves. If they are injured in any respect, there are legal modes to obtain relief, and just complaints will always be attended to and redressed. It should be the pride of a soldier to conduct himself in such a manner, as to obtain the applause and not the reproach of a people he is sent to defend; and it should be the business as it is the duty of an officer to inculcate and enforce this doctrine."

ment not taken place, it would have been very inconvenient to detach two companies from it to that place, as the march would, according to Lord Stirling's and other accounts, have been at least two hundred miles from Amboy, and they must have passed within twenty miles of Philadelphia, there being no practicable road along the seacoast of New Jersey for their baggage to have passed. I have the honor to be, &c.

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

New York, 26 April, 1776.

SIR,

When you did me the honor of a visit at Norwich, on my way to this place, I communicated to you the recommendation I had received from Congress for sending four battalions from hence to reinforce the troops in Canada. I now beg leave to inform you, that, in compliance therewith, on Saturday and Sunday last, I detached four regiments thither, under the command of Brigadier-General Thompson; and, by an express received last night, I am ordered by Congress, in addition to those already gone, to send six more immediately. Our regiments being incomplete and much wanting in numbers, I need not add, that the army here felt a sensible diminution by this detachment; and, when the second is gone, it will be weak indeed, considering the importance of this place, and the many extensive posts, which must be guarded for its defence. Added to this, almost the whole of our valuable ordnance, stores, and magazines will be deposited here. For these reasons, it appears to me expedient, that some mode should be adopted, without loss of time, by this government, yours, and that of Jersey, for throwing in

immediate succours, upon the appearance of the enemy, or any case of emergency. I have written to the Congress of New Jersey upon the subject, praying them to form such regulations respecting their militia, they being the only resource we have, that assistance may be had on the earliest notice of an approach by the enemy, for preventing the alarming and fatal consequences, which might result from the common, tedious, and slow methods generally used for obtaining their aid. And I would take the liberty of mentioning, that, if the same should be done by you and your honorable Council, respecting your militia, or such part of them as are nearest to this place, the most salutary ends might result therefrom.

The benefits flowing from a timely succour being too obvious for repetition, I shall, with all possible deference, propose for your consideration, whether it would not be advisable to have some select corps of men appointed, under proper officers, in the western parts of your government, to repair to this place on the earliest notice from the general, or officer commanding here, of the appearance of an enemy. If it should be thought necessary upon an emergency, in the first instance to resort to you, and for all the ordinary forms to be gone through, before any succours can be ordered in, it is to be feared, that the relief would be too late to answer any good purpose. This, however, I shall submit to you, in full confidence of your most ready assistance on every occasion, and that such measures, as appear to you most likely to advance the public good, in this and every instance, will be most cheerfully adopted. I am, Sir, with great esteem, &c.

TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

New York, 29 April, 1776.

DEAR BROTHER,

Since my arrival at this place, I have been favored with two or three of your letters, and thank you for your kind and frequent remembrance of me. If I should not write to you so often as you do to me, you must attribute it to its true cause, and that is, the hurry and multiplicity of business in which I am constantly engaged, from the time I rise out of my bed until I go into it again. I wrote to you a pretty full account, just before I left Cambridge, of the movements of the two armies, and now refer you to it. Since that time, I have brought the whole army, which I had in the New England governments (five regiments excepted, left behind for the defence of Boston and the stores we have there), to this place; and eight days ago I detached four regiments for Canada; and I am now embarking six more for the same place, as there are reasons to believe, that a push will be made there this campaign, and things in that country not being in a very promising way, either with respect to the Canadians or Indians. These detachments have weakened us very considerably in this important post, where, I am sorry to add, there are too many inimical persons. But as our affairs in Canada can derive no support, except what is sent to them, and the militia may be called in here, it was thought best to strengthen that quarter at the expense of this; but I am afraid we are rather too late in doing it. From the eastern army, under my immediate command, it was impossible to do it sooner.

We have already gone great lengths in fortifying this city and the Hudson River. A fortnight more will put us in a very respectable posture of defence. The

works we have already constructed, and which they found we were about to erect, have put the King's ships to flight; for, instead of lying within pistol-shot of the wharves, and their sentries conversing with ours, whilst they received every necessary that the country afforded, they have now gone down to the Hook, near thirty miles from this place, the last harbour they can get to, and I have prevailed upon the Committee of Safety to forbid every kind of intercourse between the inhabitants of this colony and the enemy. This I was resolved upon effecting; but I thought it best to bring it about through that channel, as I now can pursue my own measures in support of their resolves.

Mrs. Washington is still here, and talks of taking the smallpox; but I doubt her resolution. Mr. and Mrs. Custis will set out in a few days for Maryland. I did not write to you by the 'Squire, because his departure, in the first place, was sudden; in the next, I had but little to say. I am very sorry to hear, that my sister was indisposed when you last wrote. I hope she is now recovered, and that your family are well. That they may continue so, and that our once happy country may escape the depredations and calamities attending war, is the fervent prayer of, dear Sir, your most affectionate brother.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF NEW YORK.

2 Force 6E

New York, 30 April, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

I perceive by the tenor of your favor of yesterday, that my letter of the 27th has given umbrage, which I am sorry for, as I had not the most distant idea of giving

any.* Three things led me to suspect, that the New York battalions were not upon the same establishment as the other Continental troops; current report, an implied exception in the order for detaching six more battalions to Canada, and that part of your letter signifying that four of these battalions were to be raised under your immediate direction; which intimation, coming in corroboration of the two first reasons, for I never had any information of this matter from Congress, led me to believe, that you intended it as a gentle hint, that I was not to consider them in the same light as I did the others. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that I should wish to know the extent of my authority over them, that my conduct might be regulated thereby, or that I should not be so solicitous in arming regiments, raised for local purposes, as those for the general service, when the latter are also greatly deficient in this essential point.

These were the ideas, that filled my mind at the time

* The New York Congress had several months previously to this date organized and commenced the raising of four battalions, or regiments, commanded by Colonels McDongall, James Clinton, Ritzema, and Wynkoop. In communicating the state of these battalions to Washington, it was left doubtful by the Committee how far they were to be considered under his command. Whereupon he wrote to them as follows on the 27th of April; —

"If the four battalions are placed under the immediate care of the Committee of Safety for this colony by Congress, I should be glad to know how far it is conceived, that my power over them extends, or whether I have any at all. Sure I am that they cannot be subjected to the direction of both, and I shall have no small reluctance in assuming an authority, which I am not vested with powers to execute. Nor will my solicitude (further than as a well-wisher to the cause) on account of arms for these regiments, and returns of them, continue, if they are not considered as within the line of my command. It becomes, therefore, my indispensable duty to ascertain this matter, and to know whether these regiments cannot be ordered out of the colony, for instance to New Jersey, if necessity should require it."

The Committee replied; — "We are sorry to find there was a possibility

of writing. If the extreme hurry, occasioned by a variety of business, which is continually pressing upon me, clouded the meaning I wished to convey, I can only add, that it never was, and I hope never will be, my intention to give unprovoked offence. Of this your Committee may be once for all assured, that it is my earnest wish to coöperate with them in every measure, which can conduce to the general good, and that if I should at any time differ from them in the means, I shall feel my share of the concern; being, with respect, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 30 April, 1776.

Sir,

I mean, through you, to do myself the honor of laying before Congress a copy of an address transmitted to them some time ago by the Assembly of Rhode Island, which Governor Cooke favored me with in the month of January, at the same time requesting me to interest

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of misunderstanding the passage in our letter respecting the four battalions raising in this colony. Be assured, Sir, that we never considered them as under our direction, except so far as concerned the forming and equipping of them; and if you will be pleased to refer yourself to our last letter, the distinction taken therein between the four battalions and Van Schaick's regiment will convince you, that we meant nothing more than in obedience to Congress to have the completing of them for the command of the Continental General; nor do we esteem them so pointedly under our direction in this respect, as to exclude your solicitude as Commander-in-chief to have them speedily completed and armed; a solicitude highly becoming your station, and which, instead of affording the least ground for umbrage, serves to heighten the opinion, which your former conduct has invariably taught us to entertain of your vigilant attention to the important duties of your office, and of your zeal for the defence and security of the rights of this much injured country."

Van Schaick's regiment was distinct from the above four, and was raising in the north part of the colony with direct reference to the Canada service, and in General Schuyler's department.

myself in procuring a body of forces on the Continental establishment, for the defence of that colony. I doubt not but the address and the subject of it have had the attention and consideration of Congress before now. But if they have not decided upon the matter, I would beg leave to mention, that I have made inquiry into the situation and condition of the colony, and find it to be as stated in the address; and, with all deference to the opinion of Congress, I conceive it highly necessary and expedient, that they should adopt some measures for relieving their distress, and granting the aid prayed for. The importance of Rhode Island in the chain of the union, its extensive seacoast, affording harbours for our shipping and vessels, at the same time exposing and subjecting the inhabitants to the ravages and depredations of our enemies, the zeal and attachment which they have shown, and which still actuate them towards the common cause, their incapacity to pay a sufficient number of men for their defence, should they be able to furnish them after so many engaged in other services; these, and many other reasons, which are too obvious to be mentioned, plead powerfully for the notice and attention of Congress, and seem to me to claim their support.

Having thus stated the matter to Congress, for their consideration, agreeably to my promise to Governor Cooke when I had the honor of seeing him on my way hither, I shall leave it with them, not doubting but they will duly weigh its importance, and give such assistance as they may think reasonable and just. What they chiefly wish for is, that the troops they have raised may be taken into Continental pay, and commanding officers appointed by Congress.* I have the honor, &c.

* Congress assented to this request, and resolved on the 11th of May, that the two battalions, directed to be raised by the Rhode Island Assembly, should be taken into Continental pay.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 5 May, 1776.

SIR,

Having had several complaints from the officers in the eastern regiments, who have been and are engaged in recruiting, about the expense attending it, and for which they have never yet been allowed any thing, though the officers in these governments have, as I am informed, I shall be glad to know whether the allowance of ten shillings, granted to the officers for every man enlisted, by the resolve of Congress, is general and indiscriminate, or confined to the middle districts. If general, must I have a retrospect to the time of the resolve, and pay for the services since, or only for future enlistments?*

By a letter from General Schuyler, of the 27th ultimo, I find General Thompson and his brigade were at Albany; General Sullivan with the last except three or four companies of Colonel Wayne's regiment, not yet come, is embarked and gone, and probably will be soon there. I am apprehensive, from General Schuyler's account, that they will not proceed with the wished-for expedition, owing to a difficulty in getting teams and provender for cattle necessary to carry their baggage, and a scarcity of batteaux at the Lakes for so large a number, though he is taking the utmost pains to procure them. Should they be stopped for any time, it will be exceedingly unfortunate, as their going from hence has weakened us here much, and our army in Canada will not be strengthened.

* *In Congress, May 10th.* — "Resolved, that the resolution of Congress, passed the 17th of January last, allowing one dollar and one third to the officers, in lieu of expenses for enlisting each soldier, being a general regulation, extends to the troops raised in the eastern department; and that the general be directed to make that allowance for all the troops enlisted since passing the said resolution."

I have enclosed to you a return of the last brigade detached, and also of the forces remaining here. And as it is a matter of much importance to know the whole of our strength from time to time, and to see it at one view, for regulating our movements with propriety, I wish it were a direction from Congress to the commanding officers in the different districts to make monthly returns to the Commander-in-chief of the Continental army, of the state of the troops in their departments, and also of the military stores. Such direction will probably make them more attentive than they otherwise would be. I could not get a return of the army in Canada all last year.*

I cannot, by all the inquiries I have been able to make, learn what number of arms have been taken from the Tories, where they lie, or how they are to be got at. The Committee of Safety for this colony have assured me, that no exertions of theirs shall be wanting to procure arms; but our sufferings in the mean while may prove fatal, as men without arms are in a manner useless. I have therefore thoughts of employing an agent, whose sole business it shall be to ride through the middle and interior parts of these governments, for the purpose of buying up such arms, as the inhabitants may incline to sell, and are fit for use. The designs of the enemy are too much behind the curtain for me to form any accurate opinion of their plan of operations for the summer's campaign. We are left to wander therefore in the field of conjecture; and, as no place, all its consequences considered, seemed of more importance in the execution of their grand plan, than the possession of Hudson's River, I thought it advisable to remove with the

* By a resolve of Congress, May 10th, the commanding officers in the different departments and posts were required to make to the Commander-in-chief monthly returns of the state of the troops and military stores.

Continental army to this city, so soon as the King's troops evacuated Boston. But if Congress, from their knowledge, information, or belief, think it best for the general good of the service, that I should go to the northward or elsewhere, they are convinced, I hope, that they have nothing more to do than signify their commands. With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL WARD, AT BOSTON.

New York, 9 May, 1776.

Sir,

I am glad that you have given your attention to the works, which I doubt not by this time are completed. It will give me pleasure to hear they are; for should these accounts of Hessians and Hanoverian troops coming over prove true, it is possible the enemy may make some attempts to regain a footing in your province. The account you give of the vessels at Beverly being unfit for service surprises me prodigiously. I was taught to believe very differently of the ship Jenny, by Commodore Manly and Captain Bartlett, who you mention have given you their opinion of them. The brigantine from Antigua was also thought very fit to be armed. A letter is just come to my hands from Winthrop Sargent, agent for the navy at Gloucester. He says there are some women and children, whom he is obliged to maintain at the Continental expense; also a number of men taken in some of the last prizes. You will please to examine into their situation. If prisoners of war, they should be sent into some inland place and confined. If Tories, the General Court is the proper power to take cognizance of them. I have had no advice from Congress relative to your resignation.

I shall write them this day to know what officer they may think proper to appoint to the command in your state. When I receive their answer, you shall be informed. I am, &c.

TO GEORGE MASON, VIRGINIA.

New York, 10 May, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

The uncertainty of my return, and the justice of surrendering to Mr. Custis the bonds, which I have taken for the moneys raised from his estate, and lent out upon interest, as also his moiety of his deceased sister's fortune, consisting altogether of bonds, oblige me to have recourse to a friend to see this matter done, and a proper memorandum of the transaction made. I could think of no one, in whose friendship, care, and abilities I could so much confide, to do Mr. Custis and me this favor, as yourself; and, therefore, I take the liberty of soliciting your aid.

In order that you may be enabled to do this with ease and propriety, I have written to the clerk of the Secretary's office for attested copies of my last settled accounts with the General Court in behalf of Mr. Custis, and the estate of his deceased sister; with which and the bonds, I have desired him and Mr. Washington to wait upon you for the purpose above mentioned. The amount of the balance due, upon my last settled accounts, to Mr. Custis, I would also have assigned him out of my moiety of his sister's bonds; and, if there is no weight in what I have said in my letter to Mr. Lund Washington, concerning the rise of exchange, and which, to avoid repetition, as I am a good deal hurried, I have desired him to show you, I wish it may meet

with no notice, as I want nothing but what is consistent with the strictest justice, honor, and even generosity; although I have never charged him or his sister, from the day of my connexion with them to this hour, one farthing for all the trouble I have had in managing their estates, nor for any expense they have been to me, notwithstanding some hundreds of pounds would not reimburse the moneys I have actually paid in attending the public meetings in Williamsburg to collect their debts, and transact the several matters appertaining to the respective estates. A variety of occurrences, and my anxiety to put this place as speedily as possible into a posture of defence, will not, at this time, admit of my adding more, than that I am, with unfeigned regard,

Dear Sir, &c.

TO LUND WASHINGTON, MOUNT VERNON.

New York, 10 May, 1776.

Dear Lund,

As I am not able to form any idea of the time of my return, and as it is very reasonable and just, that Mr. Custis should be possessed of his estate, although it is not in my power, circumstanced as I am at present, to liquidate the accounts and make a final settlement with him, I have written to the clerk of the Secretary's office for authenticated copies of the last accounts, which I exhibited against him and the estate of his deceased sister. With these and the bundle of bonds, which you will find among my papers, I would have Mr. Custis and you repair to Colonel Mason and get him, as a common friend to us both, as a gentleman well acquainted with business, and very capable of drawing up a proper memorandum of the transaction, to deliver him his own

bonds, which, if my memory fails me not, and no changes have happened, are in one parcel and endorsed; and at the same time deliver to him as many bonds out of the other parcel, endorsed as Miss Custis's bonds, as will pay him his moiety of her fortune and the balance, which will appear due to him from me, at my last settlement with the General Court. How the account will then stand between us, I cannot with precision say, but I believe the balance will be rather in my favor than his

In my last settlement of the estate of Miss Custis, all the bonds and mortgages were fully accounted for, and this will be the best ground upon which to found the dividend between Mr. Custis and myself, lest any of the bonds or mortgages should be misplaced, or in the office. Mr. Mercer's bonds I have promised to take into my part; and, as there are wheat and other accounts opened between that estate and me, I should be glad to have them allotted accordingly. In like manner, I promised to take Mr. Robert Adams's debt upon myself, and believe the last mortgage from him was taken in my own name. As to the others, I do not care how they are divided, nor was I anxious about these, further than it served to comply with their desires, founded I believe on an opinion, that I should not press them for the money. The bank stock must, I presume, be equally divided between us. Long before I left Virginia, I directed it to be sold, writing to Messrs. Cary and Company, who had always received the dividends, to negotiate the matter; in consequence, they sent me a power of attorney, and a great deal of formal stuff for Mrs. Washington and myself to execute before the governor. This we did, literally as required, and transmitted; since which, the directors of the bank have prescribed another mode, and there has been forwarded to me another set of papers, to be executed also before the governor,

which it has never been in my power to do, as they arrived but a little while before I set out for the Congress last spring. Thus the matter stands, as far as I know, with respect to the money in the funds.

There is another matter, which I think justice to myself requires to be mentioned, and that is, with respect to the sterling balance, which it will appear I was owing to Mr. Custis upon the last settlement. It was then, and ever since has been, my intention to assign to him as many bonds, carrying interest, as would discharge this balance; but my attendance upon Congress in the fall of 1774, and spring of 1775, put it out of my power to attend the General Court at their sessions; consequently no order could be taken, or account rendered, of this matter; and now, by the rise of exchange, if I were to turn current money bonds into sterling, I should be a considerable sufferer, when I had not, nor could have, any interest in delaying it; and that it was so delayed was owing to the reasons abovementioned, it being a practice to let out his money upon interest as soon as it came to my hands. The many matters, which hang heavy upon my hands at present, do not allow me to add more, but oblige me to request, as I have not written fully to Colonel Mason on this subject, that you will show him this letter, and if necessary let him have it. I am, very sincerely, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 11 May, 1776.

Sir,

I would take occasion to suggest to Congress, not wishing or meaning of myself to assume the smallest degree of power in any instance, the propriety and ne-

cessity of having their sentiments respecting the filling up the vacancies and issuing commissions to officers, especially to those under the rank of field-officers. Had I literally complied with the directions given upon this subject, when I first engaged in the service, and which I conceived to be superseded by a subsequent resolve for forming the army upon the present establishment, I must have employed one clerk for no other business than issuing warrants of appointment, and giving information to Congress for their confirmation or refusal. It being evident from the necessity of the thing, that there will be frequent changes and vacancies in office, from death and a variety of other causes, I now submit it to them, and pray their direction, whether I am to pursue that mode, and all the ceremonies attending it, or to be at the liberty to fill up and grant commissions at once to such, as may be fit and proper persons to succeed, without these previous steps. With the utmost deference and respect, I would beg leave to remind Congress of my former letters and applications, respecting the appointment of proper persons to superintend and take direction of such prisoners, as have already fallen and will fall into our hands in the course of the war, being fully convinced, that, if there were persons appointed, who would take the whole management of them under their care, the continent would save a considerable sum of money by it, and the prisoners be better treated and provided with real necessaries, than they now are; and I shall take the liberty to add, that it appears to me a matter of much importance, and worthy of consideration, that particular and proper places of security should be fixed on and established in the interior parts of the different governments for their reception.

Such establishments are agreeable to the practice and

usage of the English and other nations, and are founded on principles of necessity and public utility. The advantages, which will arise from them, are obvious and many. I shall mention only two or three. They will tend much to prevent escapes, which are difficult to effect, when the public is once advertised, that the prisoners are restrained to a few stated and well-known places, and not permitted to go from thence; and the more ingenious among them from disseminating and spreading their artful and pernicious intrigues and opinions throughout the country, which would influence the weaker and wavering part of mankind, and meet with but too favorable a hearing. Further, it will be less in their power to join and assist our enemies in cases of invasion, and will give us an opportunity always to know, from the returns of those appointed to superintend them, what number we have in possession, the force sufficient to check and suppress their hostile views in times of emergency, and the expenses necessary for their maintenance. Many other reasons might be adduced to prove the necessity and expediency of the measure. I shall subjoin only one more, which is, that many of the towns, where prisoners have been already sent, not having conveniences for or the means of keeping them, complain that they are burdensome; and have become careless, inattentive, and altogether indifferent whether they escape or not; and those of them that are restricted to a closer confinement, the limits of a jail, are neglected, and not treated with that care and regard, which Congress wish.

I have not received further intelligence of the German troops* since my letter of the 7th instant, covering Mr. Cushing's despatches. But, lest the account of

* German troops said to be coming from Europe to reinforce the British army in America. Intelligence to this effect had been communicated by Mr. Cushing.

their coming should be true, may it not be advisable and good policy to raise some companies of our Germans to send among them when they arrive, for exciting a spirit of disaffection and desertion? If a few sensible and trusty fellows could get with them, I should think they would have great weight and influence with the common soldiery, who certainly have no enmity towards us, having received no injury or cause of quarrel from us. The measure having occurred, and appearing to me expedient, I thought it prudent to mention it for the consideration of Congress. Having received a letter from General Ward, advising that Congress have accepted his resignation, and praying to be relieved, and it being necessary that a general officer should be sent to take the command of the troops at Boston, especially if the army should arrive, which is talked of, and which some consider as a probable event, I must beg leave to recommend to Congress the appointment of some brigadier-generals, not having more here, but fewer at this time than are essential to the government of the forces, and the conducting of the works, that are carrying on. Generals Sullivan and Thompson being ordered to Canada, I cannot spare one more general officer from hence without injuring the service greatly, and leaving the army here without a sufficient number.* Having frequent applications from the Committee of Safety and others, about an exchange of prisoners, and not having authority to pursue any other mode in this instance, than that marked out by a resolve of Congress some time ago, I hope they will

*Congress accepted the resignation of Major-General Ward and Brigadier-General Frye, on the 23d of April; and it was resolved, in compliance with the above request, on the 14th of May, that General Washington should order a major-general to take command in the eastern department, and also send a brigadier on that service.

pardon me when I wish them to take under consideration such parts of my letter of the 22d ultimo, as relate to this subject and ask their determination upon it. I shall then have it in my power to give explicit and satisfactory answers to those who shall apply.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

New York, 15 May, 1776.

Dear Sir,

The letter from the Commissioners, which you were kind enough to leave open for my perusal, describes matters and the situation of our affairs in Canada, in so striking a light, that nothing less than the most wise and vigorous exertions of Congress, and the army there, can promise success to our schemes and plans in that quarter.* What might have been effected last year without

* Three Commissioners, Franklin, Chase, and Carroll, were appointed by Congress, February 15th, to repair to Canada. By their instructions they were to use all suitable means to induce the Canadians to join the other colonies in the contest against England; to promise them the same privileges of an independent government, and the same protection, that were enjoyed by each of the other colonies; to convince them, that they were equally interested in the common cause, and would profit equally by the advantages of success; and to assure them that free toleration should be allowed in religion, that the terms of union should be similar to those binding together the other colonies, and that, in case they should join the union, these colonies would protect them against all enemies. The Commissioners were also empowered to establish a printing-press, to settle differences between the inhabitants and the troops, to reform abuses in the army, to establish regulations for preserving peace and good order, and, in effecting these objects, to suspend any civil or military officer, till the pleasure of the Congress should be known. Armed with these extensive powers, the Commissioners arrived at Montreal on the 29th of April. They were accompanied by the Reverend John Carroll, a Catholic clergyman, afterwards archbishop of Baltimore, whose influence with the people it was thought would be useful, on account of his religious principles and character. But they found the state of affairs in Canada by no means

much difficulty, has become an arduous and important work. However, I hope all things will yet go well. I am exceedingly glad that so large a number of Indians was present at the review of General Sullivan's brigade. They probably, from the appearance of so many armed men somewhat instructed in discipline, may have received favorable impressions of our strength, sufficient to counteract the ingenious and insidious arts of Toryism. When those arrive, whom you mention, I shall take proper notice of them, and have necessary provisions made for their entertainment. I am, Sir, &c.

TO A COMMITTEE ON LONG ISLAND.

New York, 16 May, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

Your favor of the 14th, with an account of the apprehending of sundry Tories by order of your committee, and the taking of others by Captain Harden, is now before me. Your zeal and activity upon this occasion are truly commendable, and with great pleasure I will lend any aid in my power, that shall be thought within the line of my department, to root out or secure such abominable pests of society. But as you have neither pointed out the names nor the places of abode of the persons alluded to by your informants, I must beg the favor of a more explicit description from you;

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such, as to encourage any just hope of success to their mission. Negligence, mismanagement, and a combination of unlucky incidents, had produced a confusion and disorder, that it was now too late to remedy. The Commissioners used every effort in their power, but to little effect. Ill health caused Dr. Franklin to return in a few days. His two associates remained till after the American forces had retreated to Sorel, and were preparing to evacuate Canada.

and, in the mean time, I will set on foot a proper inquiry into this matter, consult gentlemen here acquainted with the island, and concert some plan for defeating the designs, which you think are in agitation. I shall add no more at present, than that I am, &c.*

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

New York, 17 May, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I this morning received your favor of the 13th instant with its enclosures, conveying intelligence of the melancholy situation of our affairs in Canada,† and I am not without my fears, I confess, that the prospect we had of possessing that country, of so much importance in the present controversy, is almost over, or at least that it will be effected with much more difficulty and effusion of blood, than were necessary, had our exertions been timely applied. However we must not despair. A manly and spirited opposition only can ensure success, and prevent the enemy from improving the advantage they have obtained. I have forwarded the letters to

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* *From the Orderly Book, May 15th.*—"The Continental Congress having ordered Friday the 17th instant to be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, humbly to supplicate the mercy of Almighty God, that it would please him to pardon all our manifold sins and transgressions, and to prosper the arms of the United Colonies, and finally establish the peace and freedom of America upon a solid and lasting foundation; the General commands all officers and soldiers to pay strict obedience to the orders of the Continental Congress; that, by their unfeigned and pious observance of their religious duties, they may incline the Lord and giver of victory to prosper our arms."

† Giving an account of a reinforcement of the enemy at Quebec, and the retreat of the American forces from that place with great precipitation, and loss of cannon, firearms, and powder; and intimating the probability that they would be obliged to abandon Canada.

Congress; and their answer to you and the Commissioners I will transmit to you, as soon as they come to hand. I am fully sensible, that this unfortunate event has greatly deranged your schemes, and will involve you in difficulties to be obviated only by your zeal and assiduity, which I am well satisfied will not be wanting in this or any other instance, where the good of your country requires them. I am, Sir, with sentiments of much esteem and regard, your most obedient humble servant.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 18 May, 1776.

SIR,

I do myself the honor to transmit to you the enclosed letters and papers, which I received this morning in the state they now are, and which contain sundry matters of intelligence of the most interesting nature. As the consideration of them may lead to important consequences, and the adoption of several measures in the military line, I have thought it advisable for General Gates to attend Congress (he will follow to-morrow, and explain to them some points on which they may wish to be

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* *To the Continental Congress, May 17th.* — I have this moment received by express from General Schuyler an account of the melancholy prospect and reverse of our affairs in Canada; and presuming, that the letters which accompany this will give Congress full information upon the subject, I shall only add, that General Schuyler, in pursuance of orders from the honorable Commissioners, has directed Brigadier-General Sullivan to halt his brigade, as a further reinforcement, on account of the scarcity of provisions, would not relieve, but contribute greatly to distress our troops already in Canada. Before he received these orders, all the brigade except Dayton's and Wayne's regiments had left Albany; but I suppose he will be able to stop their march. I am, &c.

informed in the course of their deliberations), not having an opportunity at this time to submit my thoughts to them upon these interesting accounts.

I have the honor to be, &c.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 19 May, 1776.

SIR,

This will be delivered you by General Gates, who sets out to-day for Congress agreeably to my letter of yesterday. I have committed to him the heads of sundry matters to lay before Congress for their consideration, which, from the interesting intelligence contained in my last, appear to me of the utmost importance, and to demand their most early and serious attention. Sensible that I have omitted to set down many things necessary, and which probably, when deliberating, they will wish to be acquainted with; and not conceiving myself at liberty to depart from my post, though to attend them, without their previous approbation; I have requested General Gates to subjoin such hints of his own, as he may apprehend material. His military experience, and intimate acquaintance with the situation of our affairs, will enable him to give Congress the fullest satisfaction about the measures necessary to be adopted at this alarming crisis; and, with his zeal and attachment to the cause of America, he will have a claim to their notice and favors. When Congress shall have come to a determination on the subject of this letter,

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* General Gates had two days before been promoted to the rank of major-general.

and such parts of my former letters as have not been determined on, you will be pleased to honor me with the result. I am, Sir, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 20 May, 1776.

SIR,

Your favor of the 16th, with several resolutions of Congress therein enclosed, I had not the honor to receive till last night. Before the receipt of it, I did not think myself at liberty to wait on Congress, although I wished to do it; and therefore I the more readily consented to General Gates's attendance, as I knew there were many matters, which could be better explained in a personal interview, than by whole volumes of letters. He accordingly set out for Philadelphia yesterday morning, and must be too far advanced on his journey (as he proposed expedition) to be overtaken.

I shall, if I can settle some matters, which are in agitation with the Provincial Congress here, follow tomorrow or next day; and, therefore, with every sentiment of regard, attachment, and gratitude to Congress for their kind attention to the means, which they think may be conducive to my health, and with particular thanks to you for the politeness of your invitation to your house, I conclude, dear Sir, your most obedient, &c.*

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* After urging General Washington's speedy attendance on Congress, to consult upon such measures as were necessary for carrying on the ensuing campaign, President Hancock added;—"I request the favor, that you will please to honor me with your and your lady's company at my house, where I have a bed at your service, and where every endeavour on my part and Mrs. Hancock's will be exerted to make your abode agreeable. I reside in an airy, open part of the city, in Arch Street, corner of

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

2 Force, 108

New York, 21 May, 1776.

Dear Sir,

I have enclosed for your perusal copies of two informations, and a letter I received on Saturday last from the Committee of King's district by the hands of Martin Bebee, who says he is their clerk, and was sent express. From these you will readily discover the diabolical and insidious arts and schemes carrying on by the Tories, and friends of government, to raise distrust, dissensions, and divisions among us. Having the utmost confidence in your integrity, and the most incontestable proof of your great attachment to our common country and its interest, I could not but look upon the charge against you with an eye of disbelief, and sentiments of detestation and abhorrence; nor should I have troubled you with the matter, had I not been informed, that copies were sent to different committees and to Governor Trumbull, which I conceived would get abroad, and that you, should you find that I had been furnished with them, would consider my suppressing them as an evidence of my belief, or at best of my doubts, of the charges.

The confidence and assurance I have of the injustice and infamy of the charges against the Convention obliged me, also, to lay the matter before them; lest my not doing it should be construed by them into a distrust of their zeal, and promote the views of the Tories; who, to excite disorder and confusion, judge it essential to involve those in high departments in a share of the plot, which is not unlikely to be true in some parts, as I believe that

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Fourth Street. If this should be agreeable to you, it will afford me much pleasure."

our internal enemies have many projects in contemplation to subvert our liberties.* Before I conclude, I would mention, that some officers called upon me a few days ago, having your permit to go to Pennsylvania and settle some affairs there. This license, when there is really business, is certainly countenanced by humanity and generosity; but, nevertheless, it should not be indulged, and I hope will not be granted in future, as it gives them an opportunity of getting intelligence of all our operations, of forming opinions of our strength and the places proper for attack, and settling a channel of correspondence with the disaffected, by which our enemies may and will be furnished with full accounts of our designs, and every thing that can promote their service and injure ours. There is but little reason to believe, nay, we are certain, that they will not conduct themselves upon principles of the strictest honor for the favors done them, but will, when in their power, exercise every device, that can operate to our prejudice.

I am, Sir, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL PUTNAM.†

Instructions.

SIR,

I have reason to believe, that the Provincial Congress of this colony have in contemplation a scheme for seizing the principal Tories and disaffected persons on Long Island, in this city, and the country round about;

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* See APPENDIX, No. XV.

† As the oldest major-general in the army at New York, General Putnam was left in command during Washington's absence at the call of Congress.

and that, to carry the scheme into execution, they will have recourse to the military power for assistance. If this should be the case, you are hereby required during my absence to afford every aid, which the said Congress or their Secret Committee shall apply for. I need not recommend secrecy to you, as the success, you must be assured, will depend absolutely upon precaution, and the despatch with which the measure, when once adopted, shall be executed.

General Greene will, though not in person perhaps, have a principal share in ordering the detachments from his brigade on Long Island; of course he will be a proper person to be let into the whole plan. I would, therefore, when application is made by Congress, have you and him concert measures with such gentlemen, as that body shall please to appoint, and order the execution with as much secrecy and despatch as possible, and at the same time with the utmost decency and good order. Given under my hand at Head-Quarters, in the city of New York, this 21st day of May, 1776.*

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* The machinations of disaffected persons, or *Tories*, as they began universally to be called, in the lower counties of New York, had for some time excited serious apprehensions, as to their effects on the army, and particularly when the British forces should arrive on the coast. Governor Tryon was at the head of this party, and by his talents, his former popularity in the province, and his emissaries among the people, he was maturing designs, which it was found necessary to take speedy and efficient measures to counteract. The Provincial Congress had appointed a secret committee of their number to confer with General Washington, from time to time, on all such matters as required the coöperation of the civil and military powers for the common safety. The subject of the Tories had occupied their deliberations, and it was agreed that a strong and decided course ought immediately to be pursued in regard to them. General Washington had promised military aid for carrying into effect any resolves, which might be adopted to attain this object. The following is an extract from the proceedings of the Congress on the 19th of May.

"Mr. Morris, from the committee who conferred with General Washington, informed the Congress, that sundry matters of great importance

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

Amboy, 22 May, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Congress having been pleased to request my attendance at Philadelphia, to advise with them on the situation of our affairs, and of such measures as may be necessary to adopt for this campaign, I had got thus far on my journey, when I stopped to view the ground, and such places on Staten Island contiguous to it, as may be proper for works of defence. At this place your favor of the 16th instant, with its several enclosures, came to hand. I am exceedingly concerned for the distress of our troops in Canada, and, as I informed you heretofore, have been very importunate with the commissary to forward all the provisions in his power; in consequence of which he has sent a good deal on, and I shall again repeat my orders and enjoin him to continue his supplies as largely and expeditiously as possi-

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had come before the committee and the General; that the General wished for the advice and assistance of this Congress to carry into execution his own powers, if not also the assistance of the powers of this Congress; that the matters conferred on are of such importance, that, in order to preserve secrecy, it is necessary that each particular member be sworn not to reveal to any person out of the Congress the matters to be mentioned, or the subjects of this day's debate. The President then put the question, whether every member is willing to take an oath of secrecy, and the same was unanimously agreed to.

"Ordered, that Mr. Scott and Mr. Morris wait on General Washington and inform him, that the Congress have taken an oath of secrecy, and the nature thereof, and receive of him such papers as may be necessary to communicate to this Congress.

"Messrs. Scott and Morris returned from General Washington, and delivered to the President such papers as they had received of the General. They reported that a scheme of a junction is forming between the disaffected in Connecticut and on Long Island, in order to join the ministerial army, and oppress the friends of liberty in these colonies."

After further consideration the Congress passed a series of resolutions,

ble. Our situation respecting the Indians is delicate and embarrassing. They are attached to Johnson, who is our enemy. Policy and prudence on the one hand suggest the necessity of seizing him and every friend of the government; on the other, if he is apprehended, there will be danger of incurring their resentment. I hope the Committee will conduct the matter in the least exceptionable manner, and in the way that shall most advance the public good.

I observe by the minutes of a council of war, by General Thomas's letter, and that of Messrs. Carroll and Chase to Dr. Franklin, that our troops cannot make a stand at Dechambeau, as I had hoped. I wish it were practicable; for most certainly the lower down the river we can maintain our post, the more important will the advantages resulting from it be. Considering all the country below us as lost, and that there may be some prospect of gaining that above, from whence we might draw supplies in some degree, and have the friendship

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setting forth the unjustifiable acts of disaffected persons, the dangers threatened by them to the liberties of the country, and the necessity of seizing and securing all such, as manifested hostile intentions, and an open resistance to the newly established civil authority. The committee appointed to execute these resolves, of whom Gouverneur Morris was chairman, were instructed to proceed with vigilance and firmness, to employ the militia where occasion required, and if necessary to solicit additional force from General Washington. The names of several persons, residing in King's, Queen's, New York, Richmond, and Westchester counties, had been reported to the Congress, concerning whom the committee were required to collect evidence, and examine them in person, as well as to send out agents to search for others who were concealed or unknown. The committee were directed to commit to safe custody such persons, as they should think proper, and to send them for this purpose into the neighbouring colonies, where the infection of their influence could not be diffused. A similar course of proceeding was recommended to the county committees. Several Tories from New York were, in consequence of these resolves and others of a similar character, confined in the prisons of Connecticut. — *MS. Journal of the New York Provincial Congress, May 19th, 22d.*

and assistance of the inhabitants, it is certain we should make a stand as low down as we can, so as not to have a retreat cut off in case of necessity, or an opportunity of receiving provisions. But unacquainted as I am with the country, I cannot undertake to say where it should be. Not doubting that every thing for the best will be done, I am, Sir, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS, IN CANADA.

Philadelphia, 24 May, 1776.

SIR,

I received your favor of the 8th instant with its enclosures, confirming the melancholy intelligence I had before heard, of your having been obliged to raise the siege of Quebec, and to make a precipitate retreat with the loss of the cannon in the batteaux, and interception of the powder going from General Schuyler. This unfortunate affair has given a sad shock to our schemes in that quarter, and blasted the hope we entertained of reducing that fortress and the whole of Canada to our possession.

From your representation, things must have been found in great disorder, and such as to have made a retreat almost inevitable; but, nevertheless, it is hoped you will be able to make a good stand yet, and by that means secure a good part or all the upper part of the country. That being a matter of the utmost importance in the present contest, it is my wish and that of Congress, that you take an advantageous post as far down the river as possible, so as not to preclude you from a retreat, if it should be necessary, nor from getting proper supplies of provision. The lower down you can maintain a stand, the more advantageous will it be, as all the

country above will most probably take part with us, from which we may draw some assistance and support, considering all below as entirely within the power of the enemy and of course in their favor. This misfortune must be repaired, if possible, by our more vigorous exertions; and I trust that nothing will be wanting on your part or in your power to advance our country's cause. I am, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL PUTNAM.

Philadelphia, 28 May, 1776.

SIR,

The great variety of business, in which Congress are engaged, has prevented our settling what I was requested to attend for, though we have made several attempts, and a committee has been appointed for the purpose day after day; nor can I say with precision when I shall be at liberty to return. I must therefore pray your attention and vigilance to every necessary work; and further, if you should receive, before my return, certain advices, and such as you can rely on, of the enemy's being on the coast, or approaching New York, you will inform me by express as early as possible. I do not wish an alarm to be given me without foundation; but, as soon as you are certified of their coming, let it be instantly communicated to me, and orders given the express to bespeak, at the different necessary stages on the road, as many horses as may be proper for facilitating my return, and that of the gentlemen with me, with the greatest expedition. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, 31 May, 1776.

DEAR BROTHER,

Since my arrival at this place, where I came at the request of Congress to settle some matters relative to the ensuing campaign, I have received your letter of the 18th from Williamsburg, and I think I stand indebted to you for another, which came to hand some time ago in New York. I am very glad to find that the Virginia Convention have passed so noble a vote, and with so much unanimity. Things have come to such a pass now, as to convince us, that we have nothing more to expect from the justice of Great Britain; also, that she is capable of the most delusive arts; for I am satisfied, that no commissioners ever were designed, except Hessians and other foreigners; and that the idea was only to deceive and throw us off our guard. The first has been too effectually accomplished, as many members of Congress, in short, the representation of whole provinces, are still feeding themselves upon the dainty food of reconciliation; and, though they will not allow, that the expectation of it has any influence upon their judgment, with respect to their preparations for defence, it is but too obvious, that it has an operation upon every part of their conduct, and is a clog to their proceedings. It is not in the nature of things to be otherwise; for no man, that entertains a hope of seeing this dispute speedily and equitably adjusted by commissioners, will go to the same expense and run the same hazards to prepare for the worst event, as he who believes that he must conquer, or submit to unconditional terms, and the concomitants, such as confiscation, hanging, and the like.

To form a new government requires infinite care and unbounded attention; for if the foundation is badly laid,

the superstructure must be bad. Too much time, therefore, cannot be bestowed in weighing and digesting matters well. We have, no doubt, some good parts in our present constitution; many bad ones we know we have. Wherefore, no time can be misspent in separating the wheat from the tares. My fear is, that you will all get tired and homesick; the consequence of which will be, that you will patch up some kind of a constitution as defective as the present. This should be avoided. Every man should consider, that he is lending his aid to frame a constitution, which is to render millions happy or miserable, and that a matter of such moment cannot be the work of a day.

I am in hopes to hear some good accounts from North Carolina. If Clinton has only part of his force there, and not strongly intrenched, I should think that General Lee will be able to give a very good account of those at Cape Fear. Surely administration must intend more than five thousand men for the southern district, otherwise they must have a very contemptible opinion of those colonies, or have great expectations from the Indians, slaves, and Tories. We expect a very bloody summer at New York and Canada, as it is there I presume the grand efforts of the enemy will be aimed; and I am sorry to say, that we are not either in men or arms prepared for it. However, it is to be hoped, that, if our cause is just, as I do most religiously believe it to be, the same Providence, which has in many instances appeared for us, will still go on to afford its aid. Your Convention are acting very wisely in removing the disaffected, and stores, from the counties of Princess Anne and Norfolk; and are much to be commended for their attention to the manufacture of salt, saltpetre, and powder. No time nor expense should be spared to accomplish these things. Mrs. Washington is now under

inoculation in this city; and will, I expect, have the smallpox favorably. This is the thirteenth day, and she has very few pustules. She would have written to my sister, but thought it prudent not to do so, notwithstanding there could be but little danger of conveying the infection in this manner. She joins me in love to you and all the little ones. I am, with every sentiment of regard, dear Sir, your most affectionate brother.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL PUTNAM.

Philadelphia, 3 June, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor by yesterday evening's express, with the several letters and intelligence from General Schuyler, and am much concerned for the further misfortunes, that have attended our arms in Canada. I have laid the whole before Congress, who had before resolved to send a considerable augmentation to our army there; and I doubt not that General Schuyler may receive assistance from the militia most convenient to him, for securing the different passes and communications, till they can be relieved. As to sending a reinforcement from New York, neither policy nor prudence will justify it, as we have the strongest reasons to believe the day not far distant, when a large armament will arrive and vigorously attempt an impression there; to oppose which the forces we have will not be more than equal, if sufficient.

Congress have determined on sundry gondolas and fire-rafts, to prevent the men-of-war and enemy's ships from coming into the New York Bay or Narrows. I must therefore request, that you will make inquiries after carpenters, and procure all you can, with materials

necessary for building them, that they may go on with all possible expedition, as soon as the person arrives from hence, whom I have employed to superintend the work. He will be there in a day or two.*

I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO MAJOR GENERAL SCHUYLER.

New York, 7 June, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I have not time to answer your two last favors minutely, but only to acknowledge the receipt of them, being just returned from Philadelphia, and the post about to depart this morning. The situation of our affairs in Canada is truly alarming, and I greatly fear, from the intelligence transmitted from thence by Captain Wilkinson, in a letter to General Greene,† that ere this we have sustained further and greater misfortunes, than what had happened when you wrote. I have enclosed you a copy of his letter, by which you will see I have too much ground for my concern; and I sincerely wish the next letters from the northward may not contain melancholy advices of General Arnold's defeat, and the loss of Montreal. The most vigorous exertions will be necessary to retrieve our circumstances there, and I

* After the arrival of Washington in Philadelphia, he received a note from the President of Congress, in which he said,—"I am extremely sorry it is not in my power to wait on you in person, to execute the commands of Congress. But being deprived of that pleasure by a severe fit of the gout, I am under the necessity of taking this method to acquaint you, that the Congress have directed me in their name to make the thanks of that body to you, for the unremitted attention you have paid to your important trust, and in particular for the assistance they have derived from your military knowledge and experience, in adopting the best plans for the defence of the United Colonies."

† See this letter in Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 43.

hope you will strain every nerve for that purpose. Unless it can be now done, Canada will be lost for ever; the fatal consequences of which every one must feel.

I have enclosed to you a copy of a resolve of Congress for reinforcing the army in Canada, and keeping up the communication with that province.* I hope the several colonies will immediately furnish their quotas of men, who, or as many of them as may be necessary, I should imagine had better be employed at the communications, and all the enlisted soldiers sent forward to Canada. You have, also, another resolution for employing and engaging a number of Indians in the service,† though Congress have not particularized the mode for raising and engaging them. I would have you, and the Commissioners appointed for Indian affairs, pursue such measures for the purpose, as to you may seem best for securing their friendship and service. If a smaller number than two thousand will do, I would not advise more to be embodied than may be necessary.

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* It was resolved, June 1st, that six thousand militia should be employed from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and New York, to reinforce the army in Canada.

† Congress had voted the raising of two thousand Indians for the Canada service. In reply, General Schuyler very naturally inquired where they were to be found, and added, that, instead of raising this number for the American cause, he thought that if they could be prevented from joining the enemy it was more than could be expected. The Indians had but one maxim in their alliances with the whites, which was to adhere to the strongest side, where they were paid the most liberally, and ran the least risk. Congress had small means, and were parsimonious from necessity. They were moreover averse at first to employing this kind of aid, and sought only to keep the savages in a peaceful neutrality. As this was not possible, from the fierce and warlike nature of these sons of the forest, and as the enemy had no scruples on the subject, it was deemed necessary by Congress to seek their assistance. No moment, however, could have been more unpropitious for such an attempt, than the present, when the declining state of affairs in Canada held out feeble encouragements to a people, who acted upon the principle and with the ultimate aim of the savages.

If your presence or direction at St. John's, or any post in Canada, could be of service and tend to put our affairs in a better channel than they now are, I would wish you to go, as General Thomas is disabled with the smallpox; but I do not mean to direct or request you to do it, if you think your remaining where you are, or not going, will be of more public advantage, or that the cause will be injured by doing it. You will be governed by such measures, as appear to you best, and by the circumstances of our affairs under your management, and those in Canada with which you must be much better acquainted than I am, or can possibly be, at this distance. It is probable your presence may be necessary at the negotiation with the Indians, which will be one cause to prevent your going.*

June 9th. — I have been much surprised at not receiving a more perfect and explicit account of the defeat of Colonel Bedel and his party at the Cedars. I should have thought some of the officers in command there would and ought to have transmitted it immediately; but as they have not, it is probable that I should have long remained in doubt as to the event, had not the Commissioners called on me to day. Nor should I consider my not having a return of the army and stores in Canada a matter of less wonder, had I not been accustomed to this neglect. If it is not become too inveterate, I wish it could be got the better of. It is certainly of much importance, and necessary to be known frequently. I am, &c.

* General Schuyler soon afterwards went to the German Flats, where he met a large number of Indians from the western parts of New York, with whom a treaty was formed.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 7 June, 1776.

SIR,

I do myself the honor to inform Congress, that I arrived here yesterday afternoon about one o'clock, and found all in a state of peace and quiet. I had not time to view the works carrying on, and those ordered to be begun when I went away; but I have reason to believe, from the report of such of the general and other officers as I had the pleasure to see, that they have been prosecuted and forwarded with all possible diligence and despatch. I am much concerned for the situation of our affairs in Canada, and am fearful, ere this, it is much worse than was first reported at Philadelphia. The intelligence from thence not only confirms the account of Colonel Bedel's and Major Sherburne's defeat, but seems to forebode General Arnold's, with the loss of Montreal. I have enclosed a copy of the letter, which will but too well show that there is foundation for my apprehensions.

On Wednesday evening I received an express from General Schuyler, with sundry papers respecting Sir John Johnson, which I have not time to copy, as the post is just going off, but I will do myself the honor of transmitting them to you as soon as I possibly can.* Be-

* Sir John Johnson resided at Johnstown, in Tryon county, about forty miles north-west of Albany, and possessed large patrimonial estates in that neighbourhood. Adhering to the royal cause, and having many of the Indians in his influence, as well as two or three hundred Highlanders, who were his tenants, an eye was kept upon his conduct. In January he had given his parole, that he would take no part against the colonies. See *Remembrancer*, Vol. III. p. 45. But General Schuyler received such intelligence as convinced him, that Sir John was secretly instigating the Indians, by which he had virtually broken his parole, and was likely to produce much mischief on the frontiers. To prevent such a calamity, he

fore I left Philadelphia, I employed a person to superintend the building of the gondolas, which Congress had resolved on for this place. He is arrived, and all things seem to be in a proper channel for facilitating the work; but when they are done, we shall be in much want of guns, having never received any of those taken by Commodore Hopkins. Be pleased to mention me to Congress with the utmost respect. I am, Sir, with every sentiment of regard and esteem, your and their most obedient servant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 8 June, 1776.

SIR,

In my letter of yesterday, which was designed to go by the post, but was prevented by his departure before the usual time, I mentioned my having received by express a letter and sundry papers from General Schuyler, respecting Sir John Johnson, copies

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thought it advisable to secure Sir John, and quell the rising spirit of hostility, which he was fomenting among the inhabitants and Indians in that quarter. Colonel Dayton, with a part of his regiment then on its way to Canada, was despatched to prosecute this enterprise. But Sir John, getting notice of the preparations, and suspecting the object, made his escape to the westward, and sought security with the Indians, and a small British force on the lakes. Sir John's papers were examined by Colonel Dayton, in compliance with his orders, and Lady Johnson was removed to Albany, where she was retained as a kind of hostage for the peaceable conduct of her husband. She wrote to General Washington, complaining of this detention and asking his interference for her release; but he left the matter with General Schuyler and the Albany Committee. Colonel Dayton was stationed for several weeks at Johnstown, with the troops under his command. Sir John Johnson returned not again; in the January following he found his way to New York, then in possession of the British army. He was a son of Sir William Johnson, so well known in the history of the last French war.

of which I herewith transmit to you for your inspection and perusal. They will show you what measures were planned and attempted for apprehending him, and securing the Scotch Highlanders in Tryon county. In perusing the several resolves you honored me with when at Philadelphia and since my return, I find one allowing a chief engineer for the army in a separate department. The service requiring many of them, I wish Congress, if they know any persons skilled in this business, would appoint them. General Schuyler has frequently applied, and suggested the necessity of having some in Canada. I myself know of none. I also find there is a resolve of the 3d of June for taking Indians into the service, which, if literally construed, confines them to that in Canada. Is that the meaning of Congress, or that the Commander-in-chief may order their service to any place he may think necessary?

June 9th. — The resolve respecting General Wooster's recall, I will immediately transmit to him, with directions to repair hither without delay.* The situa-

* The President of Congress had written two days before; — "The enclosed letter from the Commissioners in Canada, I am commanded by Congress to transmit to you. The contents of it are alarming. Our army in that quarter is almost ruined for want of discipline and every thing else necessary to constitute an army, or keep troops together. The Congress, in this situation of our affairs, have resolved that General Wooster be recalled from Canada. I am therefore to request you will immediately order him to repair to head-quarters at New York."

It is hardly possible to conceive a more deplorable picture, than that drawn by the Commissioners in their letter to Congress, dated at Montreal, May 27th. "You will have a faint idea of our situation," say they, "if you figure to yourself an army broken and disheartened, half of it under inoculation and other diseases, soldiers without pay, without discipline, and altogether reduced to live from hand to mouth, depending on the scanty and precarious supplies of a few half-starved cattle, and trifling quantities of flour, which have hitherto been picked up in different parts of the country. General Thomas is now at Chamblee under the smallpox. Being taken with that disorder he left the camp at Sorel, and

tion of our affairs in Canada, as reported by the honorable Commissioners, is truly alarming; and I am sorry, that my opinion of the ill consequences resulting from the short enlistments of the army should be but too well confirmed by the experience they have had of the want of discipline and order in our soldiery there. This induces me again to wish Congress to determine on a liberal allowance, to engage the troops already in service to re-enlist for a longer period, or during the continuance of the war; nor can I forbear expressing my opinion of the propriety of keeping the military chest always supplied with money, as evils of the most interesting nature are often produced for want of a regular payment of troops. The neglect makes them impatient and uneasy. I am much surprised at the scarcity of provisions there, particularly of flour; as, from several accounts I had received from thence, I was led to expect that considerable supplies of that article could be procured there. That our misfortunes may not become greater, I have written to the commissary to forward more provisions, in addition to those already sent.

An adjutant and quartermaster general are indispensably necessary, with assistants. The expense saved to the continent by their non-appointment will be but

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wrote to General Wooster to come and take the command. When the interest of our country and the safety of your army are at stake, we think it a very improper time to conceal our sentiments, either with respect to persons or things. General Wooster is, in our opinion, totally unfit to command your army, and conduct the war. We have hitherto prevailed on him to remain in Montreal. His stay in this colony is unnecessary, and even prejudicial to our affairs. We would therefore advise his recall."— *MS. Letter.*

General Wooster requested from Congress an inquiry into his conduct, as commander of the forces in Canada. The subject was referred to a committee, who, after a full examination, reported it as their opinion, that nothing censurable or blameworthy appeared against him. — *Journals, August 17th.* He resigned his commission in the Continental army, and was appointed first major-general of the Connecticut militia.

small and trifling, when put in competition with the loss for want of them. Colonel Fleming, who acted in the former capacity under General Montgomery, is now here; but his indisposition is such as to render him unfit at this time for the post; it is an important one, and requires vigor and activity to discharge the duties of it. He will be of much service to Colonel Reed, the business of whose office will increase considerably by the augmentation of the army. It will be necessary, too, that the commissaries in Canada, and the deputy quartermaster-generals, should have several assistants and clerks; nor do I think a precise number can be fixed on, as a variety of circumstances may and must occur to render the number, essential for doing the business in those departments, greater or less at different times. It will be better, I apprehend, to leave it indefinite, and with power in the commanding officer to allow such as may be wanted.

I am still in the dark, how the unfortunate affair ended at the Cedars, or on what terms the surrender was made, as the last letter from the Commissioners has reference to a former, and mentions an agreement entered into, which I have not seen; but I know of it more than I could wish. I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 10 June, 1776.

SIR,

Since I did myself the honor of writing to you yesterday, I have had the satisfaction of seeing, and for a few minutes conversing with, Mr. Chase and Mr. Carroll, from Canada. Their account of our troops and the situation of affairs in that department, cannot possibly

surprise you more than it has done me. But I need not touch upon a subject, which you will be so well informed of from the fountain-head; nor should I have given you the trouble of a letter by this day's post, but for the distraction, which seems to prevail in the commissary's department, as well as others in that quarter; the necessity of having it under one general direction; and the dissatisfaction of Colonel Trumbull, at the allowance made to him by Congress as an equivalent for his trouble. With respect to this particular matter, I can only say, that I think he is a man well suited for the business, and that, where a shilling is saved in the pay, a pound may be lost by mismanagement in the office; and that his resignation at this time, I mean this campaign, may possibly be attended with fatal consequences. I therefore humbly submit to Congress the propriety of handsomely rewarding those gentlemen, who hold such very important, troublesome, and hazardous offices, as those of commissary and quartermaster.

In speaking to the former about the supplies necessary for the troops to be raised, he informed me, that the quantity of salt provisions, which was shipping from hence, might render his attempts to do it precarious; in consequence of which I desired him to lay the matter before the Convention of this colony, which he will do this day, but in the mean while he desired Congress might be informed of the matter, which I cannot better do than in his own words enclosed, and submit the consideration of it to the wisdom of that honorable body. To Congress I also submit the propriety of keeping the two Continental battalions, under the command of Colonels Shee and Magaw, at Philadelphia, when there is the greatest probability of a speedy attack upon this place from the King's troops. The encouragements given by Governor Tryon to the disaffected, which are

circulated, no one can well tell how; the movements of this kind of people, which are more easy to perceive than describe; the confident report, which is said to have come immediately from Governor Tryon, and brought by a frigate from Halifax, that the troops at that place were embarking for this; added to a thousand incidental circumstances, trivial in themselves, but strong from comparison; leave not a doubt upon my mind, that troops are hourly expected at the Hook.*

I had no doubt when I left this city for Philadelphia, that some measures would have been taken to secure the suspected and dangerous persons of this government before now, and I left orders for the military to give every aid to the civil power. But the subject is delicate, and nothing is done in it. We may therefore have internal as well as external enemies to contend with. I have the honor to be, &c.

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* General Howe wrote from Halifax to Lord George Germain, on the 7th of June, informing him, that the admiral had given orders to the cruisers off the northern coast to direct all the troops from Europe to proceed to New York, from whence they might be ordered to their respective destinations for the campaign; and he added, that he should himself precede the fleet in a frigate to New York, where he might consult Governor Tryon, gain information, and be prepared to concert measures for further operations. The plan was to attack New York, penetrate the country, and if possible meet the army from Canada. In case of such an event, it might be anticipated, that there would be some difficulty between General Carleton and General Howe, as to the command, since the former was older in rank; but General Howe assured the minister, that no such difficulty would arise, that he should yield the precedency to General Carleton when their forces were united, suggesting that the armies might be encamped separately, each general retaining command over his own division in whatever related to its internal management, subject to a single head in what pertained to the whole, as in the case of allied armies. — *MS. Letter.*

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

New York, 10 June, 1776.

Sir,

Before this, I presume you have received the resolve of Congress for augmenting our army here and in Canada, with their requisition for the quota of men to be furnished by your colony.* I must beg leave to add, that, from intelligence I have received, and a variety of circumstances combining to confirm it, General Howe, with the fleet from Halifax, or some other armament, is hourly expected at the Hook, with designs doubtless to make an impression here, and possess themselves of this colony, which is of the last importance to us in the present controversy. Our works are extensive and many, and the troops here but few for their defence, being greatly reduced by the regiments detached on the Canada expedition.

In this critical conjuncture of affairs, the experience I have had of your zeal and readiness to assist the common cause, induces me to request the most speedy and early succour, that can be obtained from your colony, and that the militia may be forwarded, one battalion after another, as fast as they can possibly be raised, without waiting to make up the whole complement to be furnished for this place, before any of them march. I would advise, that they come properly provided with field and other officers, and that the person appointed by the colony to command the whole be here a day or two before them, to receive his orders, and to be in readi-

* Congress had resolved on the 3d of June to reinforce the army at New York by thirteen thousand eight hundred militia, to be drawn from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey; and to establish a flying camp in the middle colonies, to consist of ten thousand militia from Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. These troops were called new levies.

ness to take the command on their arrival. It will be proper, too, that notice be sent a day or two before their coming, that provision may be made for furnishing them and disposing of them in proper places. I have written a similar letter to the Jersey Convention, praying aid from them. I am, Sir, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

New York, 13 June, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

If the accounts of Colonel Bedel's and Major Butterfield's conduct be true, they have certainly acted a part deserving the most exemplary notice. I hope you will take proper measures, and have good courts appointed to bring them, and every other officer, that has been or shall be guilty of misconduct, to trial, that they may be punished according to their offences. Our misfortunes at the Cedars were occasioned, as it is said, entirely by their base and cowardly behaviour, and cannot be ascribed to any other cause.

In my letter of the 7th, which will have reached you ere this, I enclosed a resolve of Congress for engaging the Indians, not more than two thousand, in our service. This will indicate to you their opinion; and knowing their sentiments fully upon this head, I cannot but advise, that you forthwith hold a conference with the Six Nations, and any others, whom you and your brother commissioners may think necessary; and form with them an alliance on such terms and conditions, as shall seem most likely to secure their interest and friendship, without waiting the further directions of Congress.

The situation of our affairs will not suffer delay, and I am persuaded your conduct, and the speech you

intend to deliver the Sachems, will meet their approbation and thanks. I think that part of it, which mentions the time and place of our taking post, might be omitted; but this I leave to you. I shall inform Congress of what I have written to you on this subject, and of the verbal intelligence you sent me by Bennet from Albany, when you overtook him, respecting the Indians coming down the Mohawk River under Sir John Johnson, and of your preparing to resist them. I sincerely wish you success, and that their first incursions and attempts against us may be attended with their entire defeat. It will be necessary to employ Colonel Dayton and his regiment in this service, and in securing a post where Fort Stanwix formerly stood, which I esteem of much importance; but I submit it to you, who are much better acquainted with that country than I am, whether, previous to that, it will not be necessary and essential, that a post be established lower down somewhere about the falls below the German Flats, to secure our communication with that garrison. Should this not be done, will it not be in the power of the savages to come between that and our frontiers, and intercept all supplies of men and provisions going thither?

I observe you esteem the ground opposite to Ticonderoga to be the most advantageous for a post against the enemy. Messrs. Chase and Carroll had told me the same. I should think, therefore, that the place most capable of defence, and having the greatest advantages, should be improved, and necessary works thrown up, with the utmost despatch. But will not both be best? Cannot Ticonderoga be kept, and this improved and maintained at the same time? I must submit this to you. If you know of any persons, who can be of service as engineers, do employ them. I know of none myself, nor have I one whom I can possibly spare. I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Head-Quarters, New York, 13 June, 1776.

SIR,

I have the honor of transmitting to Congress a letter, which came by express last night from General Schuyler, enclosing a copy of a letter to him from Colonel Kirkland. I have likewise enclosed the copy of one directed to General Putnam, or the commanding officer at New York. The representations contained in these letters have induced me, without waiting the determination of Congress, to direct General Schuyler immediately to commence a treaty with the Six Nations, and to engage them in our interest, upon the best terms he and his colleagues in commission can procure; and I trust the urgency of the occasion will justify my proceeding to the Congress. The necessity for decision and despatch in all our measures, in my opinion, becomes every day more and more apparent. The express, Mr. Bennet, was overtaken at Albany by General Schuyler, who had received intelligence at Fort George, that a considerable body of Mohawk Indians were coming down the Mohawk River under the conduct of Sir John Johnson. The general's extreme hurry would not allow him to write; but it seems his intention is to collect at Albany a sufficient force to oppose Sir John. I have given him my opinion, that Colonel Dayton's regiment should be employed in that service, and to secure the post where Fort Stanwix formerly stood.

In consequence of information, that several merchants were exporting salt pork and beef from this place, I requested the commissary to make application to the Provincial Congress for a restraint to be laid on the exportation of those articles, as I apprehended, not only that the enemy might receive supplies by the capture

of our vessels, but that our people might shortly experience a scarcity. The Provincial Congress have accordingly made a resolution to stop the exportation for fourteen days. They expect Congress will in the mean time frame some general regulations on this head. They are unwilling, they say, to subject their constituents to partial restraints.

I once mentioned to Congress, that I thought a war-office extremely necessary, and they seemed inclined to institute one for our army; but the affair seems to have been since dropped. Give me leave again to insist on the utility and importance of such an establishment. The more I reflect upon the subject, the more I am convinced of its necessity, and that affairs can never be properly conducted without it.

It is with pleasure that I receive the resolve enclosed in your favor of the 11th instant. One considerable ground of dissatisfaction in the army is thereby removed. I have employed persons in building gondolas and rafts, which the Congress thought necessary for the defence of this place, and, in conjunction with the Provincial Congress, I have determined to sink *chevaux de frise* one of which is already begun.

2 Mass. 149

June 14*th.* — I herewith transmit to you copies of a letter from General Schuyler, and its several enclosures, which I have received since I had the honor of addressing you yesterday. From these you will learn that General Thomas died the 2d instant;* and the apprehensions of our frontier friends in this colony, that our savage foes are meditating an attack against them. I am, &c.

* He died of the smallpox, having taken the disorder without inoculation at Sorel. During his illness, General Thompon was at the head of the army. On the 4th of June, General Sullivan arrived at Sorel, and took the command.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL SULLIVAN, IN CANADA.

New York, 13 June, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Intelligence having been received of the unfortunate death of General Thomas, occasioned by the smallpox, the command of the army in Canada devolves on you. I am therefore to request your most strenuous exertions to retrieve our circumstances in that quarter from the melancholy situation, which they are now in, and to perform the arduous task of bringing order out of confusion. I confess there is more room for enterprise and activity, than I could wish; but then you will remember, that you and your colleagues will be entitled to the grateful thanks of your country, in proportion to the services you render.

Being extremely hurried in sending despatches to Congress and General Schuyler, I have not time to write to you so fully as I could wish; and therefore shall only add my request, that you from time to time make me regular returns of the strength of the army, military stores, and any material occurrence. Wishing that you and your associates, under the direction of a gracious Providence, may lead your army to conquest and victory, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL WARD.

New York, 16 June, 1776.

SIR,

The two schooners, considering their force and number of men, certainly behaved extremely well in repelling the attack, made by such a number of boats; and it is only to be lamented that the affair was attended with

the death of Captain Mugford. He seemed to deserve a better fate. I am this moment favored with yours, advising me of the capture, made by the armed vessels, of one of the transports with a company of Highlanders on board, and I flatter myself, if our vessels keep a good look out, as the whole fleet which sailed with her is bound to Boston, that more of them will fall into our hands.

I am extremely sorry that your health is more and more impaired, and, having heard by a letter from President Hancock, that Mr. Whitcomb, Colonel Whitcomb's brother, is appointed a brigadier-general, I shall order him to relieve you as soon as I am informed, that he accepts his commission; and if he does, you may immediately call him to your assistance, before I am certified of his acceptance. This will ease you of some trouble, till I can regulate a few matters of importance here, which I hope to do in a little time.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

New York, 16 June, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I was favored with yours of the 5th and 6th instant by express yesterday evening from General Schuyler; and I am exceedingly happy on account of the agreeable and interesting intelligence it contains. Before it came to hand, I almost dreaded to hear from Canada, as my advices seemed to promise nothing favorable, but rather further misfortunes. But I now hope, that our affairs, from the confused, distracted, and almost forlorn state, in which you found them, will emerge and

assume an aspect of order and success.* I am convinced that many of our misfortunes are to be attributed to a want of discipline, and a proper regard to the conduct of the soldiery. Hence it was, and from our feeble efforts to protect the Canadians, that they had almost joined and taken part against us. As you are fully apprized of this, and conceive them well disposed towards us, with confidence I trust, you will take every step in your power to conciliate and secure their friendship. If this can be effected, of which you seem to have no doubt, I see no objection to our indulging a hope that this country, of such importance in the present controversy, may yet be added to us and complete our union. I confess this interesting work is now more difficult, than it would have been heretofore, had matters been properly conducted; but yet, I flatter myself it may be accomplished by a wise, prudent, and animated behaviour in the officers and men engaged in it; especially if assisted by the friendly disposition of the inhabitants. I think every mark of friendship and favor should be shown them, to encourage their zeal and attachment to our cause.

Your conduct in pushing and securing posts low down the country is certainly judicious, and of the utmost advantage. The farther down we can take and maintain posts, the greater will our possession of the country be; observing at the same time the necessity of having a safe retreat left, if you should be obliged to abandon them by a superior force. I shall anxiously wait in the hope to hear of General Thompson's making a suc-

* Considering the actual state of things in Canada, General Sullivan's letters were very extraordinary. In his description of affairs, they bore the most flattering aspect; yet twelve days afterwards the whole American army was driven out of the province, which all the officers on the spot, except General Sullivan, had foreseen and predicted.

cessful attack upon the party intrenching at the Three Rivers. Their defeat will be of the most essential service. It will chagrin them and disconcert their schemes on the one hand, and animate our men and give life to our Canadian friends on the other, and efface from their minds the unfavorable impressions, which our late conduct has made.

It will be of material consequence, in your advances down the country, to secure the several important posts as you go; at which, in case you should be obliged to decline the main object you have in view, you may make a vigorous and successful stand in your retreat. I concur with you in thinking it not of material moment to keep a very large number of men at Lachine or the upper posts. There should be no more than will be necessary to repel such attacks and attempts, as may be made by the savages, and the regular troops above you; allowing for such a number of disaffected Canadians as may join them. But then there should be a sufficient number for that purpose, as our further misfortunes there might be of the most injurious consequence. If they can be maintained, the disaffected above will dwindle away, and the insurrection threaten nothing disastrous.

It is impossible for me at this distance, and not acquainted with the situation of affairs as well as you, who are on the spot, to give any particular direction for your conduct and operations. I therefore have only to request, that you with your officers will in every instance pursue such measures, as the exigency of our affairs may seem to require, and as to you shall appear most likely to advance and promote the interest and happiness of your country.

It is my most earnest request, that harmony, a good understanding, and a free communication of sentiments

may prevail and be preserved between the general officers and the field-officers, particularly the former. Nothing can produce greater benefits than this, nor tend more to promote your military operations; whereas history and observation sufficiently evince the fatal consequences, which have ever resulted from distrust, jealousy, and disagreement among officers of these ranks. Wishing therefore your counsels and efforts to be founded in a happy union, and to meet the smiles of a kind Providence, I am, dear Sir, &c.

P. S. Knowing your great zeal for the cause of your country, and your desire to render her every possible service, I must caution you not to put too much to the hazard in your exertions to establish her rights, and to receive with a proper degree of caution the professions, which the Canadians may make. They have the character of an ingenious, artful people, and very capable of finesse and cunning. Therefore my advice is, that you put not too much in their power; but seem to trust them, rather than actually do it too far. I would also have you keep all your posts, as you go, well secured, to guard against any treacherous conduct.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 17 June, 1776.

SIR,

The enclosed came to my hands as a private letter from General Sullivan. As a private letter I lay it before Congress. The tendency (it requires no explanation) will account for the contrast between it and the letter of General Arnold. That the former is aiming at the command in Canada is obvious. Whether he

merits it or not, is a matter to be considered; and that it may be considered with propriety, I think it my duty to observe, as of my own knowledge, that he is active, spirited, and zealously attached to the cause. That he does not want abilities, many members of Congress can testify; but he has his wants, and he has his foibles. The latter are manifested in his little tincture of vanity, and in an over desire of being popular, which now and then lead him into embarrassments. His wants are common to us all. He wants experience to move upon a large scale; for the limited and contracted knowledge, which any of us have in military matters, stands in very little stead, and is greatly overbalanced by sound judgment, and some acquaintance with men and books, especially when accompanied by an enterprising genius, which, I must do General Sullivan the justice to say, I think he possesses.

But, as the security of Canada is of the last importance to the well-being of these colonies, I should like to know the sentiments of Congress respecting the nomination of any officer to that command. The character I have drawn of General Sullivan is just, according to my ideas of him. Congress will, therefore, determine upon the propriety of continuing him in Canada, or sending another, as they shall see fit. Whether General Sullivan knew of the promotion of General Gates at the time of his writing, and that he had quitted the department he left him in, when he marched his brigade from hence to Canada, I cannot undertake to say; nor can I determine whether his wish to be recalled would be changed by it, if he did. I shall add no more than my respectful compliments to Congress, and that I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of regard and esteem, Sir, &c.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

New York, 17 June, 1776

GENTLEMEN,

It is with no small degree of pain, that I am under the necessity of informing you, that it is out of my power at this time to comply with the request made by your honorable body.* The many important works carrying on for the defence of this place, against which there is the highest probability of an attack being made in a little time, will not allow me to spare from hence any person having the least skill in the business of an engineer. I have but one on whose judgment I should wish to depned in laying out any work of the least consequence. Congress well know my wants in this instance, and several of my late letters to them have pressed the appointment of gentlemen qualified for the business.

On account of this deficiency, I have not been able to secure or improve two posts in the Highlands, esteemed of the utmost importance to prevent the enemy from passing up the North River, and getting into the interior parts of this colony, should our attempts to stop them here prove ineffectual. But I beg you to be assured, that as soon as it is in my power, I shall with infinite pleasure direct a person to attend the Committee for two or three days, if the service will not admit of longer absence, in order to trace out such works, and plans for carrying them on, as shall appear necessary; and wish-

* Congress had authorized the Committee of Safety in Philadelphia to erect a redoubt at Billingsport, and throw obstructions across the Delaware at that place, for the purpose of opposing the progress of the enemy's ships up the river, and had agreed that the same should be constructed at the Continental expense. The Committee had requested the Commander-in-chief to send them an engineer to plan and superintend these works.

ing you to ascribe my non-compliance to want of ability, and not of inclination to comply with your request,

I have the honor to be, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 20 June, 1776.

SIR,

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 14th and 18th instant, and the interesting resolves contained in them, with which I have been honored. The several matters recommended to my attention shall be particularly regarded, and the directions of Congress and your requests complied with in every instance, as far as in my power.

The instituting a war-office is certainly an event of great importance, and, in all probability, will be recorded as such in the historic page. The benefits derived from it, I flatter myself, will be considerable, though the plan upon which it is first formed may not be entirely perfect. This, like other great works, in its first edition, may not be free from error; time will discover its defects, and experience suggest the remedy, and such further improvements as may be necessary; but it was right to give it a beginning, in my opinion.* The recommenda-

* Till this time the affairs of the army had not been in the hands of any persons especially appointed for the purpose. The business was referred to committees, selected as occasion required, and Congress acted upon their reports. This being found a tedious and ineffectual mode of procedure, without method or consistency, a permanent committee was at length appointed, under the name of the *Board of War and Ordnance*, having specific duties and powers, and consisting of five members, with a secretary and the necessary clerks. It was the duty of this Board to obtain and preserve an alphabetical register of all the officers in the Continental army, with their rank and the dates of their commissions; to keep exact accounts of the artillery, arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, and

tion of the Convention of New York for restraining and punishing disaffected persons, I am hopeful, will be attended with salutary consequences; and the prohibition against exporting provisions appears to have been a measure founded in sound policy, lest proper supplies should be wanted, wherewith to furnish our armies. I have transmitted to General Schuyler the resolves about the Indians, and the others on which he is to act; and have requested his strict attention and exertions in order to their being carried into execution with all possible despatch.

I have communicated to Major-General Gates the resolve of Congress for him to repair to Canada, and directed him to view Point-au-fer,* that a fortress may be erected if he shall judge necessary. He is preparing for his command, and in a few days will take his departure for it. I would fain hope his arrival there will give our affairs a complexion different from what they have worn for a long time past, and that many essential benefits will result from it. The kind attention Congress have shown to afford the Commander-in-chief here every assistance, by resolving that recommendatory letters be written to the Conventions of New Jersey and New York, and the Assembly of Connecticut, to authorize him to call in the militia in case of exigency, claims my

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to have the same under their particular charge; to provide for the forwarding of all despatches and moneys transmitted by Congress on the public service; "to superintend the raising, fitting out, and despatching all such land forces, as should be ordered for the service of the United Colonies; to have the care and direction of all the prisoners of war, according to the orders and regulations of Congress;" and to keep a careful record of all their letters and transactions.

The persons chosen for the first Board of War, were John Adams, Sherman, Harrison, Wilson, and Edward Rutledge. The secretary was Richard Peters. — *Journals of Congress, June 12th, 13th.*

* A point of land on the western shore of Lake Champlain, between Isle aux Noix and Isle la Motte.

thankful acknowledgments; and, I trust, if carried into execution, will produce many advantages in case it may be expedient at any time to call in early reinforcements. The delays incident to the ordinary mode may frequently render their aid too late, and prove exceedingly injurious.

General Wooster having expressed an inclination and wish to wait on Congress, I have given him permission, not having any occasion for him here. He set out this morning. I have been up to view the grounds about Kingsbridge, and find them to admit of several places well calculated for defence; and, esteeming it a pass of the utmost importance, I have ordered works to be laid out, and shall direct part of the two battalions from Pennsylvania to set about their erection immediately, and will add to their numbers several of the militia, when they come in, to expedite them with all possible despatch.* I am, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

New York, 20 June, 1776.

Dear Sir,

I herewith transmit to you sundry resolves of Congress, respecting the Indians, the fortifying of Fort Stanwix, and for rendering more easy and commodious our passes into Canada. As the resolves are of an interesting and important nature, I must request your particular

* These works were of great importance in keeping open a communication with the country. They embraced the fort on an eminence near Hudson's River, called Fort Washington, the redoubts at Jeffrey's Point, and on the hills north and east of Fort Washington, breastworks at Kingsbridge, and Fort Independence on the north side of Haerlem Creek near its junction with the Hudson.

attention to them, and most active exertions for accomplishing and carrying the whole into execution with all possible despatch.

I hope the bounty, which Congress have agreed to allow, as you will perceive by the last resolve, will prove a powerful inducement to engage the Indians in our service, and their endeavours to make prisoners of all the King's troops they possibly can.* You will use every method, which you shall judge necessary, to conciliate their favor; and to this end you are authorized to promise them a punctual payment of the allowance, which Congress have determined on for such officers and privates belonging to the King's army, as they may captivate and deliver to us.

June 21*st.* — I have this moment received your favors of the 15th and 17th, and, the post being about to depart, have not time to answer them fully. I shall only add, that Lady Johnson may remain at Albany, till further directions. I am, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 23 June, 1776.

SIR,

I herewith transmit you an extract of a letter from General Ward, which came to hand by last night's post, containing the agreeable intelligence of their having

* This resolve authorized General Washington to employ such Indians, as he should take into the service, in any place where he should think they would be most useful, and to offer them a reward of one hundred dollars for every commissioned officer, and thirty dollars for every private soldier of the King's troops, that they should capture in the Indian country, or on the frontiers of the colonies.

obliged the King's ships to leave Nantasket Road, and of two transports more being taken by our armed vessels, with two hundred and ten Highland troops on board.*

I sincerely wish the same success had attended our arms in another quarter; but it has not. In Canada, the situation of our affairs is truly alarming. The enclosed copies of Generals Schuyler's, Sullivan's, and Arnold's letters will inform you, that General Thompson has met with a repulse at Three Rivers, and is now a prisoner in the hands of General Burgoyne, who, these accounts say, is arrived with a considerable army.† Nor do they seem to promise an end of our misfortunes there; it is greatly to be feared, that the next advices from thence will be, that our shattered, divided, and broken army, as you will see by the return, have been obliged to abandon the country, and retreat, to avoid a greater calamity, that of being cut off or becoming prisoners. I will have done upon the subject, and leave you to draw such conclusions as you conceive, from the

* Several British armed ships had kept possession of Nantasket Road, from the time Boston was evacuated. On the 13th of June, in the evening, General Ward ordered five hundred men, and a detachment of the train of artillery with a thirteen-inch mortar, two eighteen-pounders, and some small cannon, under the command of Colonel Whitcomb, to take post on Long Island, and annoy the British ships. The necessary works were thrown up in the night, and the next morning the cannon and mortar opened a fire, and soon drove the vessels out of the harbour. The fleet consisted of thirteen in number, the Renown, of fifty guns, several smaller ships of war, and transports with Highland troops on board. They blew up the light-house as they went off, and put to sea.

General Ward wrote; — "The Colonel taken in the transports is Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, commander of one of General Frazer's battalions of Highlanders; he is a member of Parliament, and a gentleman of fortune."

† Two days after General Sullivan's arrival at Sorel, he sent General Thompson, at the head of three regiments, to meet and attack the enemy at Three Rivers. By an unlucky series of accidents, his party was assailed and beaten, and himself and other officers were taken prisoners.

state of facts, are most likely to result; only adding my apprehensions, that one of the latter events, either that they are cut off, or become prisoners, has already happened, if they did not retreat while they had an opportunity. General Schuyler and General Arnold seem to think it extremely probable; and if it has taken place, it will not be easy to describe all the fatal consequences that may flow from it. At least our utmost exertions will be necessary, to prevent the advantages they have gained from being turned to our greater misfortunes. General Gates will certainly set out to-morrow, and would have gone before now, had he not expected to receive some particular instructions from Congress, which Colonel Braxton said he imagined would be given, and transmitted hither.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from General Arnold to General Schuyler, respecting some of the Indian tribes, and a talk had at Albany with thirteen of the Oneidas. They seemed then to entertain a friendly disposition towards us, which I wish may not be changed by the misfortunes we have sustained in Canada.

I have the honor to be &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Instructions.

SIR,

The honorable Continental Congress, reposing the greatest confidence in your wisdom and experience, have directed me to appoint you to the very important command of the troops of the United Colonies in Canada, with power to appoint a deputy adjutant-general, a deputy quartermaster-general, a deputy mustermaster-

general, and such other officers as you shall find necessary for the good of the service. You are also empowered to fill up all vacancies in the army in Canada, and notify the same to Congress for their approbation.

You are also authorized, until the first of October next, to suspend any officers and fill up all vacancies, transmitting to the honorable Congress such order and suspension, giving your reasons therefor, and specifying the particular charge made against such officer. You are directed, previous to your departure, to consult with the commissary-general, and concert with him the most effectual measures for continuing proper supplies of provisions for that department. You are in like manner to consult with Colonel Knox about the artillery, which may be wanted, and what may probably be procured there; and whether any brass or iron field-pieces can be spared from hence for that service.

Upon your arrival in Albany, you will consult with General Schuyler, in regard to the present state of provisions and stores, and fix upon some certain means of forwarding the regular supplies in future from that place. At the same time, endeavour to learn whether supplies heretofore sent have not reached that department, and by what means such failures have happened, that a proper remedy may be provided. From General Schuyler you will also receive such advice and information, respecting the operations of the campaign, as may be useful and necessary. You are to direct all the general officers, deputy quartermaster-general, local commissaries, paymaster in Canada, and all other persons there, or on the communication, without delay to render their accounts and settle them. No general officer on such settlement is to receive pay as colonel of a regiment, nor any field-officer as captain of a company.

Upon your taking the command of the troops, you will give particular orders, agreeably to a rule of Congress, that no officer shall suttle or sell to the soldiers, on penalty of being fined one month's pay, and of being dismissed the service with infamy; that all sales of arms, clothing, ammunition, and accoutrements, made by soldiers, are to be deemed void; and that the baggage of officers and soldiers is hereafter to be regulated conformably to the rules of the British army.

By a like resolve no troops in Canada are to be disbanded there, but all soldiers in that country ordered to be disbanded, or, their times of enlistment being expired, refusing to re-enlist, shall be sent under proper officers to Ticonderoga, or such other posts on the lakes, as you shall direct, where they are to be mustered, and the arms, accoutrements, blankets, and utensils, which they may have belonging to the public, shall be delivered up and deposited in the public store. You will, as soon as possible, make as accurate a return as you can procure of the troops, artillery, arms, ammunition, provisions, and stores, which you find in Canada, or upon the communication with Albany, distinguishing where stationed, and in what magazines; and, if possible, transmit such a return to the honorable Continental Congress, and to me, once a fortnight.

The distance of the scene, and the frequent changes, which have happened in the state of our affairs in Canada, do not allow me to be more particular in my instructions. The command is important, the service difficult but honorable, and I most devoutly pray, that Providence may crown our arms with abundant success. Given under my hand at Head-Quarters, New York, June 24th, 1776.*

* General Washington had been directed by Congress, on the 17th of June, to send General Gates into Canada to take command of all the

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

New York, 24 June, 1776.

Dear Sir,

The accounts transmitted by General Sullivan are truly alarming, and I confess I am not without apprehension lest the next advices should be, that the unfortunate defeat and capture of General Thompson have been succeeded by an event still more unfortunate, the destruction of a large part if not the whole of our army in that quarter. The weak, divided, and disheartened state, in which General Sullivan represents it to be, does not seem to promise any thing much more favorable, and it is what General Arnold appears to be suspicious of. From the whole of the accounts, supposing the facts all true, there was nothing left to prevent their ruin, but a retreat. That, I hope, has been made, as the only means of saving themselves, and rendering their country the least service.

By reason of the succession of ills, that has attended us there of late, and this last one, I fear we must give up all hopes of possessing that country, of such importance in the present controversy, and that our views and utmost exertions must be turned to prevent the incursions of the enemy into our colonies. To this end, I must pray your strictest attention, and request that you

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forces in that province. He enjoyed a high popularity in Congress at this time. Richard Henry Lee, writing to Washington, June 13th, says, "It is more than probable, that Congress will order our friend Gates to Canada. His great ability and virtue will be absolutely necessary to restore things there, and his recommendations will always be readily complied with. You will find, that great powers are given to the commander in that distant department. The system for Canada, adopted since the arrival of the Commissioners here, will, I hope, be of essential service to our officers. All good men pray most heartily for your health, happiness, and success, and none more than your affectionate friend."

will use all the means in your power to fortify and secure every important post and place on the communication. You are as much impressed with the necessity of the measure, as any man can be; and with confidence I trust, that nothing you can do will be wanting to effect it. If the troops have retreated, they will in a little time, I hope, complete such works on the passes, as to bid defiance to the most vigorous efforts of the enemy to penetrate our country; especially when you are assisted by the militia, who most probably are on their march ere now. Had this unfortunate defeat not happened, the militia were designed, not only to reinforce the army in Canada, but to keep up the communication with that province, as you will see by recurring to the resolve directing them to be employed.*

Major-General Gates, whom Congress had appointed to command after General Thomas's death, will set out to-morrow. As Colonel Parsons has requested you to send the person, who is supposed to have murdered his brother, I have no objection to your doing it, if you judge it necessary. He, from what I have been told, designs to apply to Congress for instituting some mode of trial for the offence.

I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.

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* The following extract from a letter, written to Washington by the ardent and patriotic Joseph Hawley, of Massachusetts, June 21st, relating to the proposed reinforcements of militia, is characteristic of the author.

"The most important matters are soon to be decided by arms. Unhappy it is for the Massachusetts, and I fear for the whole continent, that at this season we have a numerous assembly. More than one half the House are new members. Their decisions are most afflictingly slow, when every thing calls for the utmost ardor and despatch. The Lord have mercy upon us! This colony, I imagine, will raise the men required by Congress, before snow falls, but in no season for the relief of either New York or Canada. Pray, Sir, consider what there is to be done. It is my clear opinion, that there will not a single company move in this colony for either of those places these three weeks. I know, Sir, it will vex you; but you will not be alone in the vexation. My soul at times is

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 27 June, 1776.

SIR,

I this morning received, by express, letters from Generals Schuyler and Arnold, with a copy of one from General Sullivan to the former, and also of others to General Sullivan; of all which I do myself the honor to transmit to you copies. They will give you a further account of the melancholy situation of our affairs in Canada, and show that there is nothing left to save our army there but evacuating the country.

I am hopeful General Sullivan would retreat from the Isle-aux-Noix, without waiting for previous orders for that purpose; as, from Generals Schuyler's and Arnold's letters, it is much to be feared, by remaining there any considerable time, his retreat would be cut off, or at least be a matter of extreme difficulty. I would observe to Congress, that it is not in my power to send any carpenters from hence to build the gondolas and galleys, which General Arnold mentions, without taking them from a work of the same kind, equally

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ready to die within me, at others my blood to press out at the pores of my body. But what shall be the expedients? I never was good at them. If I may say it, I am astonished at the policy of Congress, in ordering more regiments here, instead of ordering those, which are here, to parts where they are infinitely more needed; but my opinion is little worth. Such as it is, I have given it."

Again, Mr. Hawley pressed this subject, on the 27th of June, and added,—"For God's sake, if it is possible, let all Ward's people be instantly ordered to Canada, or to some place where they are more needed than here. Pray, Sir, consider that they are officered, armed, and equipped, in all respects. Every thing is to be done for the militia. Our people will fight here *pro aris et focis;* but very few of them, believe me, will be got to Canada this year. I pray your Excellency's pardon for my troublesome repetition of this matter to you. I am here, and see the true state and posture of affairs. No place on the continent I conceive is more secure than Boston."

necessary, if not more so, here; and I submit it to them whether it may not be advisable (as it is of great importance to us to have a number of those vessels on the lake, to prevent the enemy's passing,) to withdraw the carpenters for the present from the frigates building up the North River, and detach them immediately, with all that can be got at Philadelphia, for that purpose and for carrying on those here.

I have the pleasure to inform you of another capture, made by our armed vessels, of a transport on the 19th instant, with a company of Highland grenadiers on board. The enclosed extract of a letter from General Ward, by last night's post, contains the particulars; to which I beg leave to refer you. I have transmitted to General Schuyler a copy of the resolve of Congress respecting the Mohickan and Stockbridge Indians, and directed him to put an immediate stop to the raising of the two companies.

Upon information that Major Rogers was travelling through the country under suspicious circumstances, I thought it necessary to have him secured. I therefore sent after him. He was taken at South Amboy, and brought up to New York. Upon examination, he informed me that he came from New Hampshire, the country of his usual abode, where he had left his family; and pretended he was destined to Philadelphia on business with Congress.

As by his own confession he had crossed Hudson's River at New Windsor, and was taken so far out of his proper and direct route to Philadelphia, this consideration, added to the length of time he had taken to perform his journey, his being found in so suspicious a place as Amboy, his unnecessary stay there on pretence of getting some baggage from New York, and an expectation of receiving money from a person here, of bad

character, and in no circumstances to furnish him out of his own stock, the Major's reputation, and his being a half-pay officer, have increased my jealousies about him. The business, which he informs me he has with Congress, is a secret offer of his services, to the end that, in case it should be rejected, he might have his way left open to an employment in the East Indies, to which he is assigned; and in that case he flatters himself he will obtain leave of Congress to go to Great Britain.

As he had been put upon his parole by Congress, I thought it would be improper to stay his progress to Philadelphia, should he be in fact destined thither. I therefore send him forward, but, to prevent imposition, under the care of an officer, with letters found upon him, which, from their tenor, seem calculated to recommend him to Congress. I submit it to their consideration, whether it would not be dangerous to accept the offer of his services.*

June 28th. — Congress, I doubt not, will have heard of the plot, that was forming among many disaffected persons in this city and government for aiding the King's troops upon their arrival. No regular plan seems to have been digested; but several persons have been enlisted, and sworn to join them. The matter, I am in hopes, by a timely discovery, will be suppressed and put a stop to. Many citizens and others, among whom is the mayor, are now in confinement. The matter has been traced up to Governor Tryon; and the mayor appears to have been a principal agent between him and the persons concerned in it. The plot had been communicated to some of the army, and part of

* Congress directed, that Major Rogers should be sent to New Hampshire, to be disposed of as the government of that province should judge best. He soon afterwards went over to the British.

my guard engaged in it. Thomas Hickey, one of them, has been tried, and, by the unanimous opinion of a court-martial, is sentenced to die, having enlisted himself, and engaged others. The sentence, by the advice of the whole council of general officers, will be put in execution to-day at eleven o'clock. The others are not tried. I am hopeful this example will produce many salutary consequences, and deter others from entering into the like traitorous practices.*

The enclosed copy of a resolve of the Provincial Congress will show, that some of the disaffected on Long Island have taken up arms. I have, agreeably to their request, sent a party after them, but have not as yet been able to apprehend them, having concealed themselves in different woods and morasses. General Gates set out on Tuesday with a fine wind, which has been fair ever since, and would soon arrive at Albany. I have this moment received a letter from Lieutenant Davison, of the Schuyler armed sloop, a copy of which I have enclosed; to which I beg leave to refer you for the intelligence communicated by him.† I could wish General Howe and his armament not to arrive yet, as not more than a thousand militia have come in, and our whole force, including the troops at all the detached posts, and on board the armed vessels, which are comprehended in our returns, is but small and inconsidera-

* *From the Orderly Book, June 28th.* — "The unhappy fate of Thomas Hickey executed this day for mutiny, sedition, and treachery, the General hopes will be a warning to every soldier in the army to avoid those crimes, and all others so disgraceful to the character of a soldier, and pernicious to his country."

† Lieutenant Davison gave intelligence, that he had taken four prizes, and that one of the prisoners said a fleet of one hundred and thirty sail left Halifax for Sandy Hook on the 9th of July, General Howe himself being on board. When the prisoners arrived at head-quarters, they confirmed this report, stating that they had been on board the Greyhound, one of the vessels of the fleet, and seen General Howe.

ble, when compared with the extensive lines they are to defend, and, most probably, the army that he brings. I have no farther intelligence about him, than what the Lieutenant mentions; but it is extremely probable his accounts and conjectures are true.

I have the honor to be, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

New York, 28 June, 1776.

Dear Sir,

I am sorry General Sullivan should have stopped at the Isle-aux-Noix, until he could obtain orders for retreating further, thereby hazarding his army without a prospect of success, and rendering his retreat liable to be interrupted, or at least difficult, in case the enemy were in a condition to pursue their victory. For these reasons I cannot but approve your directions, and I hope they have arrived in time, if he had not before left the Isle-aux-Noix, by the advice of his council of war, and joint intercession of his officers. My letter of the 24th would show you, had it been received, that from his representation of matters I thought a retreat the only means left for the security of his army, and for their doing any essential service to their country. If he gets off, I shall be happy that our loss was so inconsiderable in numbers, though I regret much the captivity of General Thompson.

I would have you make ready every thing necessary for taking post at Fort Stanwix; and, when you are prepared, to use your utmost industry for erecting and completing the work. Our most vigorous exertions will be required in every instance. I am convinced our enemies will strain every nerve against us this cam-

paign, and try to injure us wherever we may be unprovided. It will be extremely proper to forward the militia for reinforcing the several garrisons on the communication, and securing the different passes. I wish they were not so slow in repairing to the places of rendezvous; but I would fain believe they will be in time to prevent any attempts our enemies may have in view. I am extremely sorry for your indisposition, and that you should be so harassed by the ague and fever; and wishing you a perfect recovery and a speedy one, I am, dear Sir, &c.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 29 June, 1776.

SIR,

The accounts communicated yesterday through Lieutenant Davison's letter are partly confirmed, and, I dare say, will turn out to be true on the whole. For two or three days past, three or four ships have been dropping in; and I just now received an express from an officer appointed to keep a look-out on Staten Island, that forty-five arrived at the Hook to-day; some say more; and I suppose the whole fleet will be in, within a day

* Congress had come to a resolution to augment the number of troops destined for the northern department by four thousand, and offered a bounty of ten dollars to each soldier, who would enlist for three years. In communicating this intelligence, President Hancock wrote;—"It is scarcely necessary to mention the motives on which Congress acted, or to explain the propriety of the measure. The arrival of General Burgoyne with a large reinforcement, the known character of that officer for action and enterprise, the defeat of General Thompson with the troops under his command, and his being made prisoner, are so many circumstances, that point out the absolute necessity of being more expeditious in our preparations for the defence of Canada, and of increasing our force there."

or two. I am hopeful, before they are prepared to attack, that I shall get some reinforcements. Be that as it may, I shall attempt to make the best disposition I can of our troops, in order to give them a proper reception, and prevent the ruin and destruction they are meditating against us.

June 30th. — I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 29th early this morning, with which you have been pleased to honor me, together with the resolves for a further augmentation of our army. The battalion of Germans, which Congress have ordered to be raised, will be a corps of much service; and I hope, that such persons will be appointed officers, as will complete their enlistments with all possible expedition. I shall communicate to Colonel Stephenson and one of his field-officers what you have requested, and direct them to repair immediately to Philadelphia. It is an unlucky circumstance, that the term of enlistment of these three companies, and of the rifle battalion, should expire at this time when a hot campaign is, in all probability, about to commence.*

Canada, it is certain, would have been an important acquisition, and well worth the expenses incurred in the pursuit of it. But as we could not reduce it to our possession, the retreat of our army with so little loss, under such a variety of distresses, must be esteemed a most fortunate event. It is true, the accounts we have received do not fully authorize us to say, that we have

* Congress resolved, that four companies of Germans should be raised in Pennsylvania, and four companies in Maryland. They also resolved, that six companies of riflemen should be enlisted, four of them in Virginia, and two in Maryland, to serve for three years, and be formed into a regiment with three companies already raised in New York. Captain Stephenson was appointed colonel of this regiment.

sustained no loss; but they hold forth a probable ground for such conclusion. I am anxious to hear it confirmed.*

I have the honor of transmitting to you an extract of a letter received last night from General Ward. If the scheme the privateers had in view, and the measures he had planned, have been carried into execution, the Highland corps will be tolerably well disposed of; but I fear the fortunate event has not taken place. In General Ward's letter was enclosed one from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who was made prisoner with the Highland troops. I have transmitted to you a copy. This will give you a full and exact account of the number of prisoners on board the four transports; and will prove, beyond a possibility of doubt, that the evacuation of Boston by the British troops was a matter neither known nor expected when he received his orders. Indeed, so many facts had concurred before to settle the matter, that no additional proofs were necessary. I am, &c.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.†

New York, 29 June, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Since Colonel Reed left this place, I have received certain information from the Hook, that about forty of the

* President Hancock had written;—"The loss of Canada is undoubtedly on some accounts to be viewed in the light of a misfortune. The Continent has been put to a great expense in endeavouring to get possession of it. That our army should make so prudent a retreat, as to be able to save their baggage, cannon, ammunition, and sick from falling into the hands of the enemy, is a circumstance, that will afford a partial consolation, and reflect honor upon the officers, who conducted it. Considering the superior force of the British troops, and a retreat unavoidable, every thing has been done, which in such a situation could be expected. In short, Sir, I am extremely glad, that our army is likely to get safe out of Canada."

† Commander of the New Jersey militia, and at this time stationed at

enemy's fleet have arrived there, and others are now in sight, and that there cannot be a doubt, but the whole fleet will be in this day and to-morrow. I beg not a moment's time may be lost, in sending forward such parts of the militia, as Colonel Reed shall mention. We are so very weak at this post, that I must beg you to order the three companies, which I mentioned in my last for Staten Island, immediately to this city. If General Heard is the commanding officer, I must request you will lay my several letters, written to you, before him without delay. I am, Sir, with esteem, &c.

TO THE CAPTAIN OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN'S GUARD.

Head-Quarters, New York, 30 June, 1776.

SIR,

I understand that the Convention of New Jersey resolved, that Governor Franklin was an enemy to the liberties of America, and that he should be conducted under a safeguard into Connecticut, and for that purpose he was committed to your charge. I have this morning

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Elizabethtown. He had previously been a member of the Continental Congress, and afterwards distinguished himself as the vigilant, able, and patriotic governor of New Jersey, during the most trying period of the revolutionary contest. The *Memoir* of his life, written by Mr. Sedgwick, is a just and valuable tribute to his memory, as a lover of his country, and a faithful friend to its liberties.

On the 29th of June, the following order was issued to the army. "The General expects that all soldiers, who are entrusted with the defence of any work, will behave with great coolness and bravery, and will be particularly careful not to throw away their fire. He recommends to them to load for their first fire with one musket-ball and four or eight buckshot, according to the size and strength of their pieces. The brigadiers are to order a circle to be marked round the several redoubts, by which their officers are to be directed in giving orders for the first discharge. Small brush may be set up to make the line more distinct and familiar to the men, who are by no means to be ordered to fire before the enemy arrive at the circle."

received information, that you have halted with him at Hackensack. I would enjoin it upon you to set off immediately, and carry the resolve of the Convention into execution. Delays are dangerous, and should any accident happen, you never could answer for your neglect to our much injured country.

I would, therefore, again repeat to you, that it is my advice, immediately on receipt of this, to set forward on your journey with Governor Franklin, and make all possible despatch for the place you are ordered to. Governor Franklin once had his choice, and chose Connecticut, and it is not for you to hesitate on frivolous pretences, but to do your utmost to execute the orders you have received in every particular. I am, &c.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF ESSEX COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.

New York, 30 June, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

I received your favor by Mr. Treat, and cannot but consider the officer of Mr. Franklin's guard extremely blamable for his conduct. It is certainly his indispensable duty to conduct Mr. Franklin to the place the Convention have ordered, without delay. The circumstances you represent, his letter to his lady, and the whole complexion of the case, afford a strong presumption, nay, much more, full evidence, that he means to escape if possible. He says in his letter, that, "during his respite, the time between his writing and getting an answer from Congress, something may turn up to make his removal improper, and, at any rate, to gain time will be of advantage."

I have written to the captain of his guard upon the subject; and, as Mr. Franklin has evinced a most un-

friendly disposition to our cause, as the colony Convention have ordered him to Connecticut, for refusing to comply with such terms to procure his liberty as they deemed necessary and proper for him to enter into, as he does not propose to sign the parole, which they formed, but has suggested several alterations, I am of opinion your Committee should interfere in the matter, and give immediate orders to the officer of the guard to proceed with him, in execution of the duty wherewith he is charged. And, further, if you apprehend that there is the least danger of his being rescued, or of the guard appointed to escort him being remiss in their duty, your Committee should appoint a strong escort for the purpose, and direct them to assist in performing the views of the Convention, and conducting him securely to the place fixed upon to receive him. I have enclosed the letter for the officer of the guard, which, having read, you will seal and transmit to him.

I am, &c.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 4 July, 1776.

SIR,

I have this moment received a letter from General Greene, an extract from which I have enclosed. The

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* The New Jersey Convention had declared Governor Franklin to be an enemy to his country, and a person that might prove dangerous, and had decided that he should be confined in such place and manner, as the Continental Congress should direct. On considering his case, the Congress ordered him to be sent under guard to Governor Trumbull, in Connecticut, who was desired to admit him to his parole, and if he should refuse to give it, the Governor was requested to treat him agreeably to the resolutions of Congress respecting other prisoners. After receiving Washington's letter, the guard proceeded immediately with him to Connecticut.

intelligence it contains is of the most important nature, and evinces the necessity of the most spirited and vigorous exertions on our part. The expectation of the fleet under Admiral Howe is certainly the reason why the army already come has not begun its hostile operations. When that arrives we may look for the most interesting events, and such as, in all probability, will have considerable weight in the present contest. It behoves us to be prepared in the best manner; and I submit it again to Congress, whether the accounts given by their prisoners do not show the propriety of calling the several Continental regiments from the Massachusetts government, raising the Flying Camp with all possible despatch, and engaging the eastern Indians.*

July 5th. — General Mercer arrived here on Tuesday, and, the next morning, was ordered to Paulus Hook to make some arrangements of the militia as they came in, and the best disposition he could to prevent the

* As an attack was shortly expected from the combined forces of the enemy, the following order was issued.

"The time is now near at hand, which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and they consigned to a state of wretchedness, from which no human efforts will probably deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us no choice, but a brave resistance or the most abject submission. This is all that we can expect. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or die. Our own country's honor calls upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion, and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world. Let us rely upon the goodness of the cause, and the aid of the Supreme Being, in whose hands victory is, to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions. The eyes of all our countrymen are now upon us, and we shall have their blessings and praises, if happily we are the instruments of saving them from the tyranny meditated against them. Let us animate and encourage each other, and show the whole world, that a freeman contending for liberty on his own ground is superior to any slavish

enemy's crossing from Staten Island if they should have any such views. The distressed situation of the inhabitants of Elisabethtown and Newark has since induced me, upon their application, to give up all the militia from the Jerseys, except those engaged for six months. I am hopeful they will be able to repel any incursions, that may be attempted. Generals Mercer and Livingston are concerting plans for that purpose. By a letter from the latter last night, I am informed the enemy are throwing up small works at all the passes on the north side of Staten Island, which it is probable they mean to secure.

None of the Connecticut militia is yet arrived; so that the reinforcement we have received is very inconsiderable. A letter from General Schuyler, with sundry enclosures, has this moment come to hand, and will no doubt claim, as it ought to do, the immediate attention of Congress. The evils, which must inevitably follow a disputed command, are too obvious and alarming to admit a moment's delay in your decision thereupon; and, although I do not presume to advise in a matter now of this delicacy, yet as it appears evident, that the northern army has retreated to Crown Point, and means to act upon the defensive only, I cannot help giving it as my opinion, that one of the major-generals in that quarter would be more usefully employed here, or in the Flying Camp, than there; for it becomes my duty to

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mercenary on earth. The General recommends to the officers great coolness in time of action, and to the soldiers a strict attention and obedience, with a becoming firmness and spirit. Any officer, or soldier, or any particular corps distinguishing itself by any acts of bravery and courage, will assuredly meet with notice and rewards; and, on the other hand, those who behave ill will as certainly be exposed and punished; the General being resolved, as well for the honor and safety of the country, as of the army, to show no favor to such as refuse or neglect to do their duty at so important a crisis." — *Orderly Book, July 2d.*

observe, if another experienced officer is taken from hence in order to command the Flying Camp, that your grand army will be entirely stripped of generals, who have seen service, being in a manner already destitute of such.* My distress on this account, the appointment of General Whitcomb to the eastern regiments, a conviction in my own breast that no troops will be sent to Boston, and the certainty of a number coming to this place, occasioned my postponing, from time to time, the sending of any general officer from hence to the eastward heretofore; and now I shall wait the sentiments of Congress relative to the five regiments in Massachusetts Bay, before I do any thing in this matter.

I am, &c.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL LIVINGSTON.

Head-Quarters, New York, 6 July, 5 o'clock P. M., 1776.

SIR,

Your favor of this date, enclosing Major Duyckinck's letter, was this moment received. The known disaffection of the people of Amboy, and the treachery of those of Staten Island, who, after the fairest professions, have shown themselves our most inveterate enemies, have

* By the original organization of the *Flying Camp*, it was to consist of ten thousand men, and to be put under the command of such Continental officer, as General Washington should direct. These men were to be obtained at the Continental expense from the militia in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, and engaged till the 1st of December following, unless sooner discharged by Congress. They were now assembling at Amboy, under the command of General Mercer. The New Jersey militia, commanded by General Livingston, were distinct from those of the Flying Camp, being called out expressly for the defence of that province. Congress afterwards augmented the Flying Camp with four battalions of militia from Pennsylvania, and three from New Jersey. — *Journals, June 3d and July 19th.*

induced me to give directions, that all persons of known enmity or doubtful character should be removed from places, where they might enter into a correspondence with the enemy, and aid them in their schemes. For this end, General Heard has directions to apprehend such persons, as from their conduct have shown themselves inimical, or whose situations, connexions, or offices have given just cause of suspicion.

I have no knowledge of the persons apprehended; but I suppose General Heard had good reason for taking hold of them. However, if there are any, who, from your personal knowledge and opinion, you think may be permitted to return, I have no objection, the others being sent to the Provincial Congress for their disposal. But, as to the former, I would suggest to you, that my tenderness has been often abused, and I have had reason to repent the indulgence shown to them. I would show them all possible humanity and kindness, consistent with our own safety; but matters are now too far advanced to sacrifice any thing to punctilios.

General Mercer has just set off for Jersey. In his experience and judgment you may repose great confidence. He will proceed to Amboy after conferring with you. You will please to keep me constantly informed of the proceedings of the enemy, and be assured of every assistance and attention. I am, &c.*

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* General Howe's head-quarters were now at Staten Island. In a letter to Lord George Germain, dated July 7th, he wrote;—"I met with Governor Tryon on board of a ship at the Hook, and many gentlemen fast friends to government attending him, from whom I have had the fullest information of the state of the rebels, who are numerous and very advantageously posted, with strong intrenchments, both upon Long Island and that of New York, with more than one hundred pieces of cannon for the defence of the town towards the sea, and to obstruct the passage of the fleet up the North River, besides a considerable field train of artillery.

"I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship, that there is great reason to expect a numerous body of the inhabitants to join the army from

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Head-Quarters, New York, 9 July, 1776.

SIR,

Colonel Seymour arrived yesterday with a few of his men, when I acquainted him, that it would be impossible for me to have his horses remain here. Forage is not to be procured; and, if it could be, it would only be at a great expense, without a single advantage arising from it. The men are absolutely necessary, till the arrival of the new levies. Colonel Seymour is to propose the matter to them this morning, and return me an answer. We have intelligence, which may be relied on, of Lord Howe's being on his passage for this place, with a large fleet and about fifteen thousand men, and he is hourly expected. By several deserters from Staten Island and the ships of war, whose accounts all agree, General Howe proposes no attempt on us, till the arrival of this reinforcement, when, it is said, with a part of his army, he will make a descent on the Jersey side, while the fleet and the other part of the army in conjunction will attack this city. To oppose this force, in which the ministry put so much confidence, I think it necessary to exert every nerve, that, by defeating their views this campaign, we may be enabled to meet them with double advantage the next. Should they think proper to pursue their unwarrantable measures, I hope the good people

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the provinces of New York, the Jerseys, and Connecticut, who in this time of universal apprehension only wait for opportunities to give proofs of their loyalty and zeal for government. Sixty men came over a few days ago with a few arms from the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury in Jersey, who are all desirous to serve; and I understand there are five hundred more in that quarter ready to follow their example. This disposition among the people makes me impatient for the arrival of Lord Howe, concluding the powers with which he is furnished will have the best effect at this critical time; but I am still of the opinion, that peace will not be restored in America until the rebel army is defeated." — *MS. Letter.*

of your colony or state, will be ready on all occasions to fly to our assistance, if needed. I have a confidence in them, and doubt not they will be ready and willing.

To prevent the enemy from obtaining fresh provisions is a matter highly necessary to be attended to. I am informed, that there are great quantities in the neighbourhood of New London, namely, at Fisher's, Block, Plumb, and Elizabeth Islands, and Martha's Vineyard. These are accessible to ships of force, and no doubt they will soon be on a plundering voyage. I could wish your attention to this matter, that the stock may all be removed quite out of reach of the enemy. The east end of Long Island, I am told, is not less exposed than the others. I think effectual steps will be taken in regard to that, as I have had a conference with the Convention of this province, and an order has gone out for driving all the stock from the sea-coasts. In the conference of a full board of general officers yesterday, it was recommended, that I should apply to you for the three row-galleys, being now at New London, or in the river, together with as many heavy cannon as you can possibly spare. They will be much wanted here; and, if you find it consistent, I would beg you to forward them on as soon as possible.

I would not have it understood, from what I have said above in regard to Colonel Seymour's body of horse, that I think their coming forward a wrong step. I think it a step, which was highly advisable; and I am much pleased to see with what cheerfulness and despatch your orders were executed. Provided they are well armed with good muskets, they must always be of greater service, on sudden emergencies to throw in succours when called for, than the militia.* I have the honor to be, &c.

* No cavalry as yet belonged to the American army.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL WARD.

New York, 9 July, 1776.

SIR,

The enclosed Declaration will show you, that Congress at length, impelled by necessity, have dissolved the connexion between the American Colonies and Great Britain, and declared them *Free and Independent States;* and in compliance with their order I am to request, that you will cause this Declaration to be immedidiately proclaimed at the head of the Continental regiments in the Massachusetts Bay. It being evident, from a variety of concurring circumstances, that the British armies mean to direct their most vigorous operations this campaign against the State* of New York, to penetrate into it by way of the lakes and the North River, and to unite their attacks. The importance of it has induced Congress to take further measures, for baffling their designs, and rendering it more secure.

You will see by the resolves now transmitted, that the northern army is to be augmented by part of the troops under your command; and I desire, that you will immediately detach for that purpose three of the fullest regiments forthwith to march to Ticonderoga, or such other place as the said army may be at, and put themselves under the order and directions of the general officer commanding the same.

You will also perceive, that Congress have resolved, that the arms taken in the Scotch transports should be sent hither. The President informs me, that he has written to the agents respecting them; but as I presume they are in your possession, or in some of the stores by

* After the declaration of Independence the terms *Colony* and *Province*, were dropped, and that of *State* was substituted.

your order, you will have the whole of them forwarded with all possible despatch, in the usual route and with necessary directions. Congress have made some alteration in the establishment of chaplains, and advanced their pay, as they have that of the regimental surgeons; as you will see by their proceedings, copies of which in these instances are also transmitted.

You will be particularly attentive to hasten the march of the three regiments, and give proper orders for their route, and to the commissary and quartermasters, that every thing necessary for the same may be immediately provided. Their aid is much wanted, and may be of the utmost importance. When they have marched, you will be pleased to put the remaining troops under the command of the oldest colonel, with such instructions as you may judge necessary, and then retire, if it shall be agreeable to you, for the recovery of your health, as I cannot possibly request you longer to continue; and, wishing you a speedy restoration of it,

I am, Sir, very respectfully, &c.*

P. S. I would have you consult with proper persons and some of the members of the General Court, respecting the route of the three regiments to be detached to the northern department.

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* By General Ward's return, dated the 1st of July, the troops under his command at Boston amounted to 2526 effective men, being five regiments commanded by Colonels Whitcomb, Glover, Sargent, Phinny, and Hutchinson. There was also a company of artillery.

From the Orderly Book, July 9th. — "The honorable Continental Congress having been pleased to allow a chaplain to each regiment, with the pay of thirty-three dollars and one third per month, the colonels or commanding officers of each regiment are directed to procure chaplains accordingly, persons of good characters and exemplary lives, and to see that all inferior officers and soldiers pay them a suitable respect. The blessing and protection of Heaven are at all times necessary, but especially so in times of public distress and danger. The General hopes and trusts, that every officer and man will endeavour so to live and act as becomes a christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 10 July, 1776.

SIR,

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your two favors of the 4th and 6th instant, which came duly to hand, with their important enclosures.

I perceive that Congress have been employed in deliberating on measures of the most interesting nature. It is certain, that it is not with us to determine in many instances what consequences will flow from our counsels; but yet it behoves us to adopt such, as, under the smiles of a gracious and all-kind Providence, will be most likely to promote our happiness. I trust the late decisive part they have taken is calculated for that end, and will secure to us that freedom and those privileges, which have been and are refused to us, contrary to the voice of nature and the British constitution. Agreeably to the request of Congress, I caused the *Declaration* to be proclaimed before all the army under my immediate command; and have the pleasure to inform them, that the measure seemed to have their most hearty assent; the expressions and behaviour, both of officers and men, testifying their warmest approbation of it. I have transmitted a copy to General Ward at Boston, requesting him to have it proclaimed to the Continental troops in that department.*

* On communicating the Declaration of Independence to General Washington, the President of Congress wrote as follows;—

"The Congress, for some time past, have had their attention occupied by one of the most interesting and important subjects, that could possibly come before them, or any other assembly of men. Although it is not possible to foresee the consequences of human actions, yet it is nevertheless a duty we owe ourselves and posterity in all our public counsels, to decide in the best manner we are able, and to leave the event to that Being, who controls all things, to bring about his own determinations. Impressed

It is with great pleasure, that I hear the militia from Maryland, the Delaware government, and Pennsylvania, will be in motion every day to form the Flying Camp. It is of great importance, and should be accomplished with all possible despatch. The readiness and alacrity, with which the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania and the other conferees, have acted, in order to forward the associated militia of that state to the Jerseys for service, till the men to compose the Flying Camp arrive, strongly evidence their regard to the common cause, and that nothing on their part will be wanting to support it. I hope, and I doubt not, that the associated militia, impressed with the expediency of the measure, will immediately carry it into execution, and furnish in this instance a proof of the continuance of that zeal, which has so eminently marked their conduct. I have directed the commissary to make the necessary provision for their reception, who will also supply the army for the

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with this sentiment, and at the same time fully convinced, that our affairs may take a more favorable turn, the Congress have judged it necessary to dissolve the connexion between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and to declare them free and independent states; as you will perceive by the enclosed Declaration, which I am directed to transmit to you, and to request you will have it proclaimed at the head of the army, in the way you shall think most proper."

As soon as this communication was received, the following order was issued to the army.

"The Continental Congress, impelled by the dictates of duty, policy, and necessity, have been pleased to dissolve the connexion, which subsisted between this country and Great Britain, and to declare the United Colonies of North America, *Free and Independent States*. The several brigades are to be drawn up this evening on their respective parades at six o'clock, when the Declaration of Congress, showing the grounds and reasons of this measure, is to be read with an audible voice. The General hopes, that this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that now the peace and safety of his country depend, under God, solely on the success of our arms; and that he is now in the service of a state possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit, and advance him to the highest honors of a free country." — *Orderly Book, July 9th.*

Flying Camp with rations. A proper officer will be appointed to command it.*

In pursuance of the power given me by Congress, and the advice of my general officers, I have written to General Ward, and desired him forthwith to detach three of the fullest regiments from the Massachusetts Bay to join the northern army, esteeming it a matter of the greatest importance to have a sufficient force there to prevent the enemy's passing the lake, and making an impression in that quarter. The Connecticut militia begin to come in; but from every account the battalions will be very incomplete, owing, they say, to the busy season of the year. That government, lest any inconvenience might result from their militia not being here in time, ordered three regiments of their light-horse to my assistance, part of which have arrived. But, not having the means to support them (and, if it could be done, the expense would be enormous), I have thanked the gentlemen for their zeal, and the attachment they have manifested upon this occasion, and informed them, that I cannot consent to their keeping their horses, at the same time wishing them to stay themselves. I am told they or part of them mean to do so.

I have the honor to be, &c.

TO THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Head-Quarters, New York, 11 July, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

At a crisis like the present, when our enemies are prosecuting the war with unexampled severity, when they have called upon foreign mercenaries, and have excited

* General Washington had been authorized by Congress to appoint an officer to command the Flying Camp.

slaves and savages to arms against us, a regard to our own security and happiness calls upon us to adopt every possible expedient to avert the blow, and prevent the meditated ruin. Impressed with this sentiment, and impelled by necessity, the Congress have been pleased to empower me, as you will perceive by the enclosed copy of their resolve, which I have the honor of transmitting to you, to call to our aid so many of the St. John's, Nova Scotia, and Penobscot Indians, as I might judge necessary. At the same time they have desired, that I should request the assistance of your honorable body in carrying their views into execution, and assure you, that whatever expenses you may necessarily incur in doing it, and as incident to it, they will reimburse. Esteeming this service of great importance, particularly if the enemy should attempt an impression into the interior parts of the country, I must entreat your kind offices upon this occasion, and your friendly exertions immediately to engage, on the best terms you can, five or six hundred men of these tribes, and to have them marched with all possible expedition to join the army here.

Having professed a strong inclination to take part with us in the present contest, it is probable they may be engaged for less pay and on better terms, than the Continental troops; but, if they cannot, they must be allowed the same. The term of their enlistment should be for two or three years, unless sooner discharged (the right of which should be reserved to us), if they will engage for so long a time; if not, for such time as they will agree, provided it is not too short; and it must be part of the treaty, and enjoined upon them, to bring every man his firelock, if it can be possibly effected. As the services they may render will probably depend on their early and timely arrival, it is unnecessary to suggest to

you the urgency of the utmost despatch in the matter. I well know that the execution of the work will be attended with some trouble and inconvenience; but a consideration of the benefits, that may arise from employing them, and your zeal for the common cause, I am persuaded, will surmount every obstacle, and apologize for my requisition; especially as it comes recommended and supported by the authority of Congress.

I have the honor to be, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL WARD.

New York, 11 July, 1776.

SIR,

Since writing to you on the 9th instant, I have been honored with a letter from Congress, enclosing a resolve, a copy of which is transmitted herewith, empowering me to call to the assistance of the army here the other two regiments of Continental troops, now in the Massachusetts government, and not ordered in my last to be detached to join the northern army. I am now to request, by advice of my general officers, that you will give immediate orders not only to them, but to the three destined for the northward, to repair with all possible despatch to Norwich, where they will embark; it being the opinion of all the officers, that it will be better for the whole, as well the three intended for the northward, as those to reinforce the troops here, to take this route in preference to any other. It may turn out the most expeditious, and it is certain the men will be eased from the fatigues of a long and disagreeable march, at this hot and uncomfortable season.* It will be ne-

* This order, in regard to the route of the regiment destined to the

cessary, that you should write to Mr. Huntington at Norwich to prepare as many vessels as will bring the whole of them. To the quartermaster and commissary you will give proper orders, that they may provide, in each of their departments, such supplies of necessaries for the route as may be wanted. I am, Sir, &c.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

New York, 11 July, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favors of the 1st and 2d instant, and agreeably to your request transmitted to Congress a copy of the former and of its several enclosures. The important subjects referred to them have met with their attention, and the letter accompanying this will inform you and General Gates of the result of their deliberations. I hope that harmony and a good agreement will subsist between you, as the most likely means of advancing the interest of the cause, which you both wish to promote. They have determined the matter between Mr. Trumbull and Mr. Livingston, and decided the right of supplying the northern army, and appointing persons for that purpose, to be in the former.*

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northward, was afterwards countermanded, in consequence of two British vessels sailing up Hudson's River, thereby cutting off the water communication between New York and Albany. Three regiments were forwarded to New York by way of Norwich, and the two others marched to Ticonderoga by land from Boston.

* General Gates had been appointed to the command *in Canada*, but before he reached Albany the army had evacuated that province, and come under General Schuyler as commander of the northern department. Gates insisted, however, that the command of the northern army belonged to him, wherever it should be stationed, and a difference on this point immediately arose between him and General Schuyler. They discussed the matter amicably, and agreed to refer it to Congress, and to act in perfect

Since my last, General Howe's fleet from Halifax has arrived, in number about one hundred and thirty sail. His army is between nine and ten thousand, being joined by some of the regiments from the West Indies, and having fallen in with part of the Highland troops in his passage. He has landed his men on Staten Island, which they mean to secure, and is in daily expectation of the arrival of Lord Howe, with one hundred and fifty ships, and a large and powerful reinforcement. This we have from four prisoners, who fell into our hands, and some deserters. They add that nothing will be attempted until his arrival. Their intelligence I have no doubt is well founded; indeed the enemy's having done nothing yet affords proof beyond question, that they are waiting for more troops. We are strengthening ourselves as much as possible, and deem their staying out so long a fortunate circumstance, as it not only gives us an opportunity of advancing our works, but of getting some relief from the neighbouring provinces. From every appearance, they mean to make a most vigorous push to subdue us this campaign; and for that purpose to possess themselves of this colony, if possible, as a step leading to it. Our utmost exertions must be used, and I trust, through the favor of divine Providence, they will be disappointed in their views.

It being evident that an attempt will be made by

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harmony with each other, till the decision should be received. The instructions of General Gates were too explicit to raise a doubt in any other mind than his own, and Congress decided against his pretensions. He was probably the more bold in claiming the command, as there was a party in Congress, particularly among the New England delegates, well disposed to sustain him in it. Mr. Gerry wrote to him on the 24th of August, "We want very much to see you with the sole command in the northern department, but hope you will not relinquish your exertions, until a favorable opportunity shall effect it."

General Burgoyne to penetrate and make an impression into the colonies by way of the lakes, unless there is a sufficient force to oppose him, I have exercised a discretionary power, with which I was honored by Congress, and ordered three of the fullest Continental regiments, that were stationed in the Massachusetts government, to march immediately on receiving my orders to join the northern army. I have directed them to come to Norwich, and there embark for Albany, hoping they will arrive as expeditiously in this way, and with much less fatigue, than if they had pursued their route by land altogether. These, with such militia as may be furnished from the several colonies required to provide them, and the troops that were under General Sullivan in Canada, I flatter myself will be able and more than equal to repel any invasion, that may be attempted from that quarter. It will be some time before their aid can be available, as I have never had the authority of Congress to order them until within this week.

You will perceive by the enclosed *Declaration*, that Congress of late have been deliberating on matters of the utmost importance. Impelled by necessity, and a repetition of injuries no longer sufferable, and being without the most distant prospect of relief, they have asserted the claims of the colonies to the rights of humanity, absolved them from all allegiance to the British crown, and declared them *Free and Independent States*. In obedience to their order, the same must be proclaimed throughout the northern army.

I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 11 July, 1776.

SIR,

In my letter of yesterday, I mentioned the arrival of part of the Connecticut light-horse to assist in the defence of this place, and my objection to their horses being kept. Four or five hundred of them are now come in; and, in justice to their zeal and laudable attachment to the cause of their country, I am to inform you, that they have consented to stay as long as occasion may require, though they should be at the expense of maintaining their horses themselves. They have pastured them out about the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge, being unwilling to send them away, at the rate of half a dollar per week each, meaning to leave it entirely with Congress either to allow or refuse it, as they shall judge proper. I promised to make this representation, and thought it my duty; and I will only observe, that the motives which induced them at first to set out were good and praiseworthy, and were to afford the most speedy and early succour, which they apprehended would be wanted before the militia arrived. Their services may be extremely important, being most of them, if not all, men of reputation and of property.

The subject of the enclosed copy of a letter from Governor Trumbull I beg leave to submit to the consideration of Congress. They will perceive from his representation the disquieting apprehensions, that have seized on the minds of the people since the retreat of the northern army, and how exposed the northern frontiers of New York and New Hampshire are to the ravages and incursions of the Indians. How far it may be expedient to raise the battalion he conceives neces-

sary to prevent the calamities and distresses he points out, they will determine, upon what he has said, and the necessity that may appear to them for the measure.* As I am truly sensible the time of Congress is much taken up with a variety of important matters, it is with unwillingness and pain, that I ever repeat a request after having once made it, or take the liberty of enforcing any opinion of mine after it is once given; but, as the establishing of some office for auditing accounts is a matter of exceeding importance to the public interest, I would beg leave once more to call the attention of Congress to an appointment competent to the purpose. Two motives induce me to urge the matter; first, a conviction of the utility of the measure; secondly, that I may stand exculpated if hereafter it should appear, that money has been improperly expended, and necessaries for the army obtained upon unreasonable terms.

For me, whose time is employed from the hour of my rising till I retire to bed again, to go into an examination of the accounts of such an army as this, with any degree of precision and exactness, without neglecting other matters of equal importance, is utterly impracticable. All that I have been able to do (and that, in fact, was doing nothing) was, when the commissary, and

* "The retreat of the northern army and its present situation," said Governor Trumbull in the letter referred to, "have spread a general alarm. The prevalence of the smallpox among the troops is every way unhappy. Our people in general have not had that distemper. Fear of the infection operates strongly to prevent soldiers from engaging in the service. The retreat of the army from Canada exposes the northern frontiers of New York and New Hampshire to the ravages of the Indians, who will doubtless be spirited up to fall upon them. Some of the settlements on Onion River, I am informed, are breaking up and removing, and the whole are filled with the most disquieting apprehensions. I could wish, that your Excellency might think proper to recommend to the Continental Congress to order a battalion to be raised and stationed there for the defence of those settlements."

quartermaster, and director-general of the hospital (for it is to these the great advances are made) applied for warrants, to make them at times produce a general account of their expenditures. But this answers no valuable purpose. It is the minutiæ that must be gone into, the propriety of each charge examined, the vouchers looked into; and, with respect to the commissary-general, his victualling returns and expenditures of provisions should be compared with his purchases; otherwise a person in this department, if he was inclined to be knavish, might purchase large quantities with the public money, and sell one half of it again for private emolument, and yet his accounts upon paper would appear fair, and be supported with vouchers for every charge.

I do not urge this matter from a suspicion of any unfair practices in either of the departments before mentioned; and sorry should I be if this construction were put upon it, having a high opinion of the honor and integrity of these gentlemen. But there should nevertheless be some control, as well upon their discretion as honesty; to which it may be added, that accounts become perplexed and confused by long standing, and the errors therein not so discoverable as if they underwent an early revision and examination. I am well apprized, that a treasury office of accounts has been resolved upon, and an auditor-general for settling all public accounts; but, with all deference and submission to the opinion of Congress, these institutions are not calculated to prevent the inconveniences I have mentioned; nor can they be competent to the purposes, circumstanced as they are.*

* Three commissioners were appointed to proceed to New York and audit the accounts of the army, and the same number for the army in the northern department.

July 12th. — About half after three o'clock this evening, two of the enemy's ships of war, one of forty and the other of twenty guns, with three tenders, weighed anchor in the bay opposite to Staten Island, and, availing themselves of a brisk and favorable breeze, with a flowing tide, ran past our batteries up the North River, without receiving any certain damage that I could perceive, notwithstanding a heavy and incessant cannonade was kept up from our several batteries here, as well as from that at Paulus Hook. They, on their part, returned and continued the fire as they ran by. I despatched an express to Brigadier-General Mifflin, at our encampment towards the upper end of the island, but I have not heard whether they have got by or received any damage.* The account transmitted by this morning's post, respecting the arrival of one of the fleet, seems to be confirmed. Several ships have come in to-day; among them one this evening with a St. George's flag at her foretop-mast head, which we conclude to be Admiral Howe, from the circumstance of the flag, and the several and general salutes that were paid. It is probable they will all arrive in a day or two, and immediately begin their operations. I am, &c.

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* General Howe consulted with the Admiral, July 7th, on the expediency of sending a naval force up the North River, with the view of obstructing the supplies, which came down the river to New York. The Admiral did not at first approve the plan, but at length assented to it, and the Phœnix of forty guns, and Rose of twenty, were despatched on this service, with three tenders. On the 6th of August, General Howe informed Lord George Germain of this movement, and said that no direct intelligence had then been received from these vessels, although by *private means* it was ascertained, that they had not received the least damage, and were in safety near the upper end of Tappan Sea. It is a little remarkable, that for three weeks no direct intercourse should have occurred between these vessels and the fleet; a proof of the vigilance with which the American lines were guarded.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE CLINTON.*

Head-Quarters, New York, 12 July, 1776.

SIR,

Two ships of force with their tenders have sailed up Hudson's River. I am apprehensive, that they design to seize the passes in the Highlands by land, which I am informed may be done by a small body of men. I must therefore request you instantly to desire General Ten Broeck to march down as great a force as he can collect to secure them, particularly the post where the road runs over Anthony's Nose.† Send off an express directly, if you please, to the west parts of Connecticut, desiring them to collect all their force at the same point, since I have the strongest reason to believe it will be absolutely necessary, if it were only to prevent an insurrection of your own Tories. I am, &c.

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* Commanding the New York militia on Hudson's River. He had already anticipated the orders of the Commander-in-chief, by calling out three regiments of militia, as soon as the signals had been given, that the enemy's ships were ascending the river. One regiment he stationed at Fort Constitution opposite West Point, another at Fort Montgomery, to which he repaired in person, and the third at Newburg, ready to be called down to the forts below, if occasion should require. He had likewise directed several sloops and boats to be assembled at Fort Constitution, with the design of drawing a chain of them across the narrowest part of the river, prepared to be set on fire if the enemy's vessels should attempt to break through. Colonel Woodhull commanded a regiment of militia under him at Fort Montgomery; and his brother, James Clinton, a colonel in the Continental army, had been stationed for several weeks at Fort Constitution, superintending the construction of the military works in the Highlands. No fortifications had as yet been erected at West Point.

The invasion of the province of New York by the enemy, and the internal excitement and trouble caused by the loyalists, had suddenly called home from the Continental Congress two delegates, Clinton and Robert R. Livingston. This was the reason why their names were not affixed to the Declaration of Independence. Livingston was one of the committee, that reported the draft of the Declaration.

† A mountain in the Highlands, opposite to Fort Montgomery.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE CONVENTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.*

Head-Quarters, 13 July, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

A multiplicity of engagements, and a continual pressure of other concerns, have prevented our proceeding in the case of the soldiers confined for seditious and treasonable practices; but, as soon as time will admit, a proper attention will be paid to it. In the mean time, I beg leave to suggest the propriety of the authority of the province taking some steps, with regard to the persons confined by them for the same offences. They certainly are to be deemed the principals, and justice to the inferior agents, while the others pass unnoticed, I observe, only excites compassion and censure. I am very sensible, that it is a case full of difficulty and perplexity, and well deserving your most serious deliberation; nor do I entertain a doubt, but the result will be such, as will conduce to the public good. I have, some time ago, mentioned to the body, of which you are a committee, the necessity of falling upon some measure to remove from this city and its environs persons of known disaffection and enmity to the cause of America. The safety of the army, the success of every enterprise, and the security of all, depend so much on adopting the most speedy and effectual steps for this purpose, that I beg leave again to repeat it; and do most earnestly entreat you to adopt some plan for this purpose, or to give me your assistance

* This Committee was appointed expressly with reference to the Tories, or disaffected persons. It was now sitting in the city of New York, although the Convention was at White Plains. The title of *Provincial Congress* was changed, on the 9th of July, to that of the *Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York*, immediately after the Declaration of Independence had been acceded to by that body. — *MS. Journal, July 9th.*

in doing it, so as to remove those disquieting and discouraging apprehensions, which pervade the whole army on this subject. A suspicion, that there are many ministerial agents among us, would justly alarm soldiers of more experience and discipline than ours; and I foresee very dangerous consequences, in many respects, if a remedy for the evil is not soon and efficaciously applied.

The removal of the Tory prisoners, confined in the gaol of this city, is a matter to which I would solicit your attention. In every view, it appears dangerous and important. In case of an attack and alarm, there can be no doubt what part they would take, and none can tell what influence they might have. You will, Gentlemen, do me the justice to believe, that nothing but the importance and necessity of the case could induce me to urge these matters, in which you have also an immediate and common interest.* The gentlemen appointed to give passes to persons leaving the city, I am informed, decline acting. Great inconvenience will ensue to the citizens, if this business should be committed to officers of the army, who, from their ignorance of the inhabitants, as well as other reasons, are wholly improper for

* This representation had its effect. Thirteen Tory prisoners, including the persons most obnoxious for their principles and conduct, were speedily removed by order of the Convention to the jail at Litchfield in Connecticut. The crimes alleged against them were those of notorious disaffection to the rights and liberties of the American States, counterfeiting the currency of the states, corresponding with the enemy, or engaging in treasonable conspiracies. The mayor of the city of New York was one of the number, but the President of the Convention wrote to the Committee of Litchfield, that though the evidence against him was such, as rendered his confinement necessary till he should be tried, yet his offences were not of so heinous a nature as those of the other conspirators, and such indulgence was recommended in his behalf as should be consistent with his safe keeping. — *MS. Journal of the New York Convention, July 19th.*

the management of it. I should be glad, if your committee will take this matter also into their consideration. I am, Gentlemen, with great respect and regard, your most obedient humble servant.

TO COLONEL RUDOLPHUS RITZEMA.

Head-Quarters, 14 July, 1776.

Sir,

At a period so critical as the present, when our unnatural enemies are in full view, and hourly expected to strike a blow, which may be supposed in a great measure to decide the fate of America, I must confess that I am not a little surprised to find an officer of your rank in the army soliciting leave to resign his commission, more especially considering the predicament you are now in. I should rather hope, that, as you are so conscious of your innocence, you would urge an inquiry into your conduct, to convince the world, that the complaints exhibited against you are totally groundless; and that the malice of your worst enemies cannot do the least injury to your reputation, which to a soldier ought ever to be dearer than life. I do not know how far I can with propriety countermand the order for the court of inquiry, as it is already given out in general orders; however, I will think of it, and give you my answer to-morrow. I am, Sir, &c.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 14 July, 1776.

Sir,

General Sullivan, in a letter of the 2d instant, informs me of his arrival with the army at Crown Point, where

he is fortifying and throwing up works. He adds, that he has secured all the stores except three cannon left at Chamblee, which in part is made up by taking a fine twelve-pounder out of the Lake. The army is sickly, many with the smallpox; and he is apprehensive the militia, ordered to join them, will not escape the infection. An officer, whom he had sent to reconnoitre, had reported that he saw at St. John's about a hundred and fifty tents, twenty at St. Roy's, and fifteen at Chamblee; and works at the first were busily carrying on.

About three o'clock this afternoon I was informed, that a flag from Lord Howe was coming up, and waited with two of our whale-boats until directions should be given. I immediately convened such of the general officers as were not upon other duty, who agreed in opinion, that I ought not to receive any letter directed to me as a private gentleman; but if otherwise, and the officer desired to come up to deliver the letter himself, as was suggested, he should come under a safe-conduct. Upon this, I directed Colonel Reed to go down and manage the affair under the above general instruction. On his return he informed me, that, after the common civilities, the officer acquainted him, that he had a letter from Lord Howe to Mr. Washington, which he showed under a superscription, "*To George Washington, Esq.*" Colonel Reed replied, that there was no such person in the army, and that a letter intended for the General could not be received under such a direction. The officer expressed great concern, said it was a letter rather of a civil than military nature, that Lord Howe regretted he had not arrived sooner, that he (Lord Howe) had great powers. The anxiety to have the letter received was very evident, though the officer disclaimed all knowledge of its contents. However, Colonel Reed's instructions being positive, they parted. After they had

got some distance, the officer with the flag again put about, and asked under what direction Mr. Washington chose to be addressed; to which Colonel Reed answered, that his station was well known, and that certainly they could be at no loss how to direct to him. The officer said they knew and lamented it; and again repeated his wish, that the letter could be received. Colonel Reed told him a proper direction would obviate all difficulties, and that this was no new matter, this subject having been fully discussed in the course of the last year, of which Lord Howe could not be ignorant; upon which they parted.

I would not upon any occasion sacrifice essentials to punctilio; but in this instance, the opinion of others concurring with my own, I deemed it a duty to my country and my appointment, to insist upon that respect, which, in any other than a public view, I would willingly have waived. Nor do I doubt, but, from the supposed nature of the message, and the anxiety expressed, they will either repeat their flag, or fall upon some mode to communicate the import and consequence of it.*

The passage of the ships of war and tenders up the river is a matter of great importance, and has excited much conjecture and speculation. To me two things have occurred, as leading them to this proceeding; first, a design to seize on the narrow passes on both sides of the river, giving almost the only land communication

* On considering this subject, Congress passed the following resolution; — "That General Washington, in refusing to receive a letter said to be sent from Lord Howe, and addressed to '*George Washington, Esq.*' acted with a dignity becoming his station; and, therefore, this Congress do highly approve the same, and do direct, that no letter or message be received, on any occasion whatsoever from the enemy, by the Commander-in-chief, or others, the commanders of the American army, but such as shall be directed to them in the characters they respectively sustain." — *Journals, July 17th.*

with Albany, and of consequence with our northern army, for which purpose they might have troops concealed on board, which they deemed competent of themselves, as the defiles are narrow; or that they would be joined by many disaffected persons in that quarter. Others have added a probability of their having a large quantity of arms on board, to be in readiness to put into the hands of the Tories immediately on the arrival of the fleet, or rather at the time they intend to make their attack. The second is, to cut off entirely all intercourse between this place and Albany by water, and the upper country, and to prevent supplies of every kind from going and coming.

These matters are truly alarming, and of such importance, that I have written to the Provincial Congress of New York, and recommended to their serious consideration the adoption of every possible expedient to guard against the two first; and have suggested the propriety of their employing the militia, or some part of them, in the counties in which these defiles are, to keep the enemy from possessing them, till further provision can be made; and to write to the several leading persons on our side in that quarter, to be attentive to all the movements of the ships and the disaffected, in order to discover and frustrate whatever pernicious schemes they have in view.*

In respect to the second conjecture of my own, and

* The ships passed all the batteries without receiving any apparent injury. The decks were guarded with ramparts of sand-bags, which protected the men from small shot; and the motion of the vessels was so rapid, that they remained but a very short time within the range of the heavy guns. They ascended to the broad part of the river, called Haverstraw Bay, and anchored so far from the shore on either side, as to be out of danger. Their boats were daily sent out to take soundings. When they occasionally attempted to land, they were beaten back by the militia, who watched them narrowly on both sides of the river.

which seems to be generally adopted, I have the pleasure to inform Congress, that, if their design is to keep the armies from provision, the commissary has told me upon inquiry, that he has forwarded supplies to Albany (now there and above it) sufficient for ten thousand men for four months; that he has a sufficiency here for twenty thousand men for three months, and an abundant quantity secured in different parts of the Jerseys for the Flying Camp, besides having about four thousand barrels of flour in some neighbouring part of Connecticut. Upon this head, there is but little occasion for any apprehensions, at least for a considerable time.

I have the honor to be, &c.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I. p. 1.

WASHINGTON'S APPOINTMENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

After Congress had determined to embody and support a Continental army, it was a matter of much difficulty and embarrassment to select a commander, who should be at the same time competent to fill that high station, and acceptable to all the colonies. On the one hand, the existing army had been raised wholly by the four New England provinces, and, to put it under the command of an officer of a distant or more southern province, was felt to be an experiment of delicacy and hazard; on the other hand, it was a thing of vital moment to enlist in the common cause the interests of the whole continent, and, in effecting so great an object, to sacrifice local and party considerations to the higher motives of patriotism and the general good.

Happily the New England delegates in Congress took this latter view of the subject, and so far from pressing any claims, which might be expected from the actual condition of affairs, or interposing any obstacles, they were prompt in recommending the choice, upon which Congress ultimately decided. The eyes of the public in Massachusetts, as well as in other parts of the continent, had already been turned upon Colonel Washington, as in all respects the best qualified to be placed at the head of the army. On the 4th of June, 1775, Mr. Gerry, then a member of the Provincial Congress at Watertown, wrote to the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress, — "I should heartily rejoice to see this way the beloved Colonel Washington, and do not doubt the New England generals would acquiesce in showing to our sister colony Virginia the respect, which she has before experienced from the continent, in making him

generalissimo. This is a matter in which Dr. Warren agrees with me, and we had intended to write to you jointly on the affair." — Austin's *Life of Gerry*, Vol. I. p. 79. Massachusetts and Virginia had hitherto taken the lead in bold and decided measures. The powerful weight of talents in Virginia, and its comparative importance in the scale of numbers and territory, were circumstances not to be overlooked, and which pointed to the policy, if not to the necessity, of securing the strong attachment of that colony to the cause, by recognising its just claims to influence. We hence understand the meaning of Washington, in what he says of the *political motive*, which contributed to his election; and it was a most fortunate coincidence, that the man, who was preëminently qualified above all others for the difficult and responsible duties of commander-in-chief, was a native of the province, which stood in the first rank among its compeers, and the cordial coöperation of which was essential.

The appointment was not made without due reflection and previous consultation among the members of Congress. The subject was canvassed in all its bearings, before it was formally introduced in the House. The merits of other candidates were amply discussed, and the political considerations applicable to each were deliberately weighed. The popularity of Charles Lee, and the high opinion entertained of his military talents and experience, brought him prominently into view. His foreign birth, however, was an effectual bar to his pretensions, as it was a principle, consonant alike to the feelings and pride of all parties, that none but a native American should be elevated to this place of high dignity and trust. There were other officers in the country, older than Washington, some of whom had seen service in the last two wars, and who sustained an honorable military reputation. These would of course have their friends and their advocates; but local biases and personal attachments were gradually yielded up, and the common consent fell upon the individual, who was afterwards selected. In discussing the question respecting the army then besieging the British troops in Boston, Mr. John Adams made a motion, that it should be adopted by the continent, and, in enforcing this motion, he said it was his intention to propose for the office of Commander-in-chief a gentleman from Virginia, and one of their own body. His remarks on the qualifications of this gentleman were so pointed, that they were known to apply only to Colonel Washington, who, upon hearing this reference to himself, immediately withdrew. The appointment was deferred to a succeeding day, when Washington was nominated (as Mr. Adams afterwards expressed his belief) by Mr. Thomas Johnson,

a delegate from Maryland. The choice was by ballot, and, on counting the votes, it was found that he was unanimously elected. The House then adjourned till the next day, when the notice of his appointment was officially communicated to him by the President, and he signified his acceptance in a short and appropriate reply.

It has usually been stated, that the nomination was made by Mr. John Adams, but this is a mistake. No man, probably, was more active in bringing about the appointment, than Mr. Adams; and it has been understood, that his influence on the minds of his brethren from the eastern colonies was of the most salutary kind, in conducting them to harmony of sentiment, and reconciling them to the choice of a southern general to command their troops. In this he was guided by the same principles of a true patriot, which marked his career during the whole revolution. Mr. Johnson had been for some years personally intimate with Washington, and on the score of policy it was thought advisable, that the nomination should proceed from a southern rather than an eastern delegate. Mr. Adams's impressions may be inferred from a letter written by him to Mr. Gerry, three days after the appointment of a commander-in-chief.

"There is something charming to me in the conduct of Washington. A gentleman of one of the first fortunes upon the continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, sacrificing his ease, and hazarding all in the cause of his country! His views are noble and disinterested. He declared, when he accepted the mighty trust, that he would lay before us an exact account of his expenses, and not accept a shilling for pay." — *Life of Gerry*, Vol. I. p. 90.

By another part of the same letter it would seem, that Mr. Adams had a hard struggle with himself in favoring the introduction of the foreign officers, Lee and Gates, into the American service. It is probable, that he held these sentiments in common with many other persons; and it is remarkable, that Washington should have been himself a chief instrument in promoting two officers, who, at different stages of the war, caused him much embarrassment, trouble, and pain.

"I have never in all my lifetime," says Mr. Adams, "suffered more anxiety than in the conduct of this business. The choice of officers and their pay have given me great distress. Lee and Gates are officers of such great experience and confessed abilities, that I thought their advice in a council of officers might be of great advantage to us; but the natural prejudices, and virtuous attachment of our countrymen to their own officers, made me apprehensive of difficul-

ties. But considering the earnest desire of General Washington to have the assistance of these officers, the extreme attachment of many of our best friends in the southern colonies to them, the reputation they would give to our arms in Europe, and especially with the ministerial generals and army in Boston, as well as the real American merit of both, I could not withhold my vote from either."

The following is an exact transcript of General Washington's commission, taken from the original now deposited in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington. It varies in some minor particulars from the one reported by the Committee, and published in the Journals of the Old Congress.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S COMMISSION.

"*In Congress.* We the Delegates of the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina,

"TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE.

"We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, conduct, and fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be GENERAL and COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces raised or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. And you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

"And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

"And we do also enjoin and require you to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers are duly exercised and provided with all convenient necessaries.

"And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war (as herewith given you), and punctually to observe and follow such directions from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the said United Colonies, or a Committee of Congress for that purpose appointed.

"This commission to continue in force till revoked by this or a future Congress.

"By order of Congress.

"John Hancock, *President.*

"Dated, Philadelphia, June 19th, 1775.

"Attest, Charles Thompson, Secretary."

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S INSTRUCTIONS.

"This Congress having appointed you to be General and Commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, of all the forces raised or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof, you are to repair with all expedition to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and take charge of the army of the United Colonies. For your better direction;—

"1. You are to make a return to us as soon as possible of all forces, which you shall have under your command, together with their military stores and provisions; and also as exact an account as you can obtain of the forces which compose the British army in America.

"2. You are not to disband any of the men you find raised until further direction from this Congress; and if you shall think their numbers not adequate to the purpose of security, you may recruit them to a number you shall think sufficient, not exceeding double that of the enemy.

"3. In all cases of vacancy occasioned by the death or removal of a colonel, or other inferior officer, you are by brevet, or warrant under your seal, to appoint another person to fill up such vacancy, until it shall otherwise be ordered by the Provincial Convention, or the Assembly of the colony, from whence are the troops in which such vacancy happens, shall direct otherwise.

"4. You are to victual, at the Continental expense, all such volunteers as have joined or shall join the united army.

"5. You shall take every method in your power, consistent with prudence, to destroy or make prisoners of all persons who now are, or who hereafter shall appear in arms against the good people of the United Colonies.

"6. And whereas all particulars cannot be foreseen, nor positive instructions for such emergencies so beforehand given, but that many things must be left to your prudent and discreet management, as occurrences may arise upon the place, or from time to time fall out,

you are, therefore, upon all such accidents, or any occasions that may happen, to use your best circumspection; and, advising with your council of war, to order and dispose of the said army under your command as may be most advantageous for the obtaining of the end for which these forces have been raised, making it your especial care, in discharge of the great trust committed unto you, that the liberties of America receive no detriment."

No. II. p. 14.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S ARRIVAL IN CAMBRIDGE.

When the Massachusetts Provincial Congress heard, that General Washington had left Philadelphia, and was on his way to take command of the army, they appointed a Committee to consider what steps were proper to be taken for his reception. In consequence of the Committee's report, the following resolves were passed;—

"*Resolved*, That Dr. Benjamin Church and Mr. Moses Gill be a Committee to repair to Springfield, there to receive Generals Washington and Lee, with every mark of respect due to their exalted characters and stations; to provide proper escorts for them from thence to the army before Boston, and the house provided for their reception at Cambridge; and to make suitable provisions for them in the manner following, namely, by a number of gentlemen of this colony, from Springfield to Brookfield, and by another company raised in that neighbourhood from thence to Worcester, and by another company there provided from thence to Marlborough, and from thence by the troop of horse in that place to the army aforesaid; and to receive the bills of expense at the several inns, where it may be convenient for them to stop for refreshment, to examine them, and make report of the several sums expended at each of them for that purpose, that orders may be taken by the Congress for the payment of them. And all innkeepers are hereby directed to make provision agreeably to the requests of the said Committee. And that General Ward be notified of the appointment of General Washington as Commander-in-chief of the American forces, and of the expectation we have of his speedy arrival with Major-General Lee, that he, with the Generals of the forces of the other colonies, may give such orders for their honorable reception as may accord with the rules and circumstances of the

army, and the respect due to their rank, without however any expense of powder, and without taking the troops from the necessary attention to their duty at this crisis of our affairs.

"*Resolved*, That the President's house in Cambridge, excepting one room reserved by the President for his own use, be taken, cleared, prepared, and furnished for the reception of General Washington and General Lee."

The Committee accordingly proceeded to Springfield, and performed the duties here prescribed. The General was escorted by a troop of horse from Brookfield, and several private gentlemen from Worcester and other towns on the route. After he had reached Watertown, the following address was presented to him.

"May it please your Excellency,

"The Congress of the Massachusetts colony, impressed with every sentiment of gratitude and respect, beg leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival, and to wish you all imaginable happiness and success in the execution of the important duties of your elevated station. While we applaud that attention to the public good, manifested in your appointment, we equally admire that disinterested virtue and distinguished patriotism, which alone could call you from those enjoyments of domestic life, which a sublime and manly taste, joined with a most affluent fortune, can afford, to hazard your life, and to endure the fatigues of war, in the defence of the rights of mankind, and the good of your country.

"The laudable zeal for the common cause of America, and compassion for the distresses of this colony, exhibited by the great despatch made in your journey hither, fully justify the universal satisfaction we have, with pleasure, observed on this occasion; and are promising presages, that the great expectations formed from your personal character, and military abilities, are well founded. We wish you may have found such regularity and discipline already established in the army, as may be agreeable to your expectation. The hurry with which it was necessarily collected, and the many disadvantages, arising from a suspension of government, under which we have raised and endeavoured to regulate the forces of this colony, have rendered it a work of time; and though in great measure effected, the completion of so difficult and at the same time so necessary a task is reserved to your Excellency, and we doubt not will be properly considered and attended to.

"We would not presume to prescribe to your Excellency, but, supposing you would choose to be informed of the general character of

the soldiers, who compose this army, beg leave to represent, that the greatest part of them have not before seen service; and although naturally brave and of good understanding, yet, for want of experience in military life, have but little knowledge of divers things most essential to the preservation of health, and even of life. The youth in the army are not impressed with the absolute necessity of cleanliness in their dress and lodging, continual exercise, and strict temperance, to preserve them from diseases frequently prevailing in camps; especially among those, who, from their childhood, have been used to a laborious life. We beg leave to assure you, that this Congress will, at all times, be ready to attend to such requisitions as you may have occasion to make, and to contribute all the aid in our power to the cause of America and your happiness and ease, in the discharge of the duties of your exalted office.

"We most fervently implore Almighty God, that the blessings of Divine Providence may rest on you; that your head may be covered in the day of battle; that every necessary assistance may be afforded; and that you may be long continued in life and health, a blessing to mankind."

No. III. p. 16.

STATE OF THE ARMY AT CAMBRIDGE WHEN GENERAL WASHINGTON TOOK THE COMMAND.

The warlike preparations of the British authorities in Massachusetts, from the time that the Boston Port Bill went into effect, had alarmed the people of that province; and on the 26th of October, 1774, the Provincial Congress resolved on measures of defence. After reciting in a preamble the causes of such a step, among which was the collecting of a formidable body of troops in the metropolis, with the express design of executing acts of the British Parliament subversive of the constitution and liberties of the province, they recommended to the militia to form themselves into companies of minute-men, who should be equipped and prepared to march at the shortest notice. These minute-men were to consist of one quarter of the whole militia, to be enlisted under the direction of the field-officers, and divided into companies, consisting of at least fifty men each. The privates were to choose their captains and subalterns,

and these officers were to form the companies into battalions, and choose the field-officers to command the same. Hence the minute-men became a body distinct from the rest of the militia, and, by being more devoted to military exercises, they acquired skill in the use of arms. More attention than formerly was likewise bestowed on the training and drilling of the militia.

But it was not till April 22d, 1775, three days after the affair of Lexington and Concord, that any movement was made towards embodying a regular army. On that day the Massachusetts Congress resolved unanimously, that it was necessary for the defence of the colony that an army of thirty thousand men should be immediately raised and established. It was at the same time resolved, that thirteen thousand six hundred should be raised in Massachusetts, and a committee was appointed to devise a plan for the establishment of the army. The remainder of the thirty thousand it was expected would be furnished by the other New England provinces, and for this object letters were addressed to Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire.

In the mean time, the news of the Lexington battle had gone abroad, and the militia from various parts in Massachusetts and New Hampshire began to assemble around Boston. Within three days several companies from New Hampshire had arrived at Medford, and taken their station in that place. The Massachusetts militia convened at Cambridge. The plan of the new army was soon arranged, General Ward was placed at its head, and recruiting orders were sent out. To expedite the raising of recruits, any person, who enlisted fifty-nine privates, was entitled to the command of a company; and a commission for commanding a regiment was promised to any one, who could procure ten companies to serve under him. It is important to keep this feature of the Massachusetts army in mind, while reading the letters of Washington during the first part of his command, as it was a source of much inconvenience. The chief qualification required for an appointment was ability to raise men. It was a means, however, of promoting rapid enlistments.

The other three colonies agreed to furnish their proportion of troops, who were raised and sent forward with as much expedition as possible. Those from Connecticut were under the command of Putnam, with the rank of major-general; and those from Rhode Island were commanded by Greene, with the same rank. The New Hampshire regiments appear to have had no higher commander than their colonels. General Ward acted as commander-in-chief of the whole, and obedience was yielded to his orders, though in regard to

their internal rules and discipline, the troops from each colony were subject to their own regulations. No soldiers were enlisted to serve longer than to the end of the year, and those from Connecticut and Rhode Island to the 1st of December only. General Ward's headquarters were at Cambridge, where there were eight or nine thousand men commanded by General Putnam. The right wing was at Roxbury under General Thomas; and on the left, at Prospect Hill, was General Greene with part of the Rhode Island troops, having also in his division the New Hampshire regiments at Medford. Massachusetts had organized a regiment of artillery under Colonel Gridley; and there was an artillery company from Rhode Island commanded by Major Crane. Large detachments of the troops were constantly employed in throwing up fortifications and lines of defence, from Mystic River to Dorchester Neck.

Such was the general state of the army, as to its outlines, arrangement, and distribution, when General Washington arrived at Cambridge. The following table, made out from the adjutant's returns on the 19th of July, will show what number of troops was present from each of the colonies, and the aggregate of the whole army at that time.

Colonies.	Number of regiments.	Commissioned officers and staff.	Non-commissioned officers.	Rank and File.					
				Present fit for duty.	Sick present.	Sick absent.	On furlough.	On command.	Total.
Massachusetts,	26	789	1,326	9,396	757	450	311	774	11,688
Connecticut,	3	125	174	2,105	212	2	14		2,233
New Hampshire,	3	98	160	1,201	115	20	49	279	1,664
Rhode Island,	3	107	108	1,041	24	18	2		1,085
Total	35	1,119	1,768	13,743	1,108	490	376	1,053	16,770

In addition to these returns, Colonel Gridley's regiment of artillery amounted to four hundred and ninety-three officers and privates; and Major Crane's company from Rhode Island to ninety-six.

An army thus constituted could hardly contain within itself the elements of uniformity or discipline. There was in reality no other bond of union, than a voluntary acquiescence, and no controlling head vested with any adequate power to maintain authority. By common consent Massachusetts was allowed to take the lead. Not only the usual affairs of the army were administered by General Ward, but courts-martial were held by his order, and punishments

inflicted. Experience had proved, however, that the officers were deficient in the requisite qualifications for the rank they sustained, which is not surprising, when it is considered upon what principle the Massachusetts officers had been commissioned. Several arrests and trials had taken place for misconduct or cowardice, even at the memorable action of Bunker's Hill. Two days after he arrived in Cambridge, Washington received the following impressive letter on this subject from Joseph Hawley, then a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress.

"Watertown, 5 July, 1775

"Sir,

"You were pleased the other day to mention to Colonel Warren and me as your opinion, that it was highly probable Gage's troops would very shortly attack our army in some part or other. I believe your opinion is not ill founded, and I am sure your Excellency will be pleased with every intimation, that may in any degree aid you in the choice of measures tending to success and victory. Therefore, that I may not be tedious, I ask your pardon when I suggest, that although in the Massachusetts part of the army there are divers brave and intrepid officers, yet there are too many, and even several colonels, whose characters, to say the least, are very equivocal with respect to courage. There is much more cause to fear, that the officers will fail in a day of trial than the privates. I may venture to say, that if the officers will do their duty there is no fear of the soldiery.

"I therefore most humbly propose to your consideration, the propriety and advantage of your making immediately a most solemn and peremptory declaration to all the officers of the army, in general orders or otherwise as your wisdom shall direct, assuring them, that every officer, who in the day of battle shall fully do his duty, shall not fail of your kindest notices and highest marks of your favor; but, on the other hand, that every officer, who on such a day shall act the poltroon, dishonor his general, and by failing of his duty betray his country, shall infallibly meet his deserts, whatever his rank, connexions, or interests may be, and that no intercessions on his behalf will be likely to be of any avail for his pardon.

"I know that your Excellency is able to form a declaration of the kind conceived in such a style, and replete with such determined sentiments and spirit, as cannot fail of begetting a full belief and persuasion in the hearts of such to whom it shall be addressed, that the same will be infallibly executed. I am almost certain the measure will have the happiest tendency. *Sed sapienti verbum sat est.* Pray

pardon my prolixity, I never was happy enough to be concise. I am, with the greatest respect and deference, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

"Joseph Hawley."

"To General Washington."

It was no doubt in consequence of this suggestion and advice, that the following order was issued on the 7th of July, after approving the decision of the court-martial in the case of Captain John Callender.

"The General, having made all due inquiries and maturely considered this matter, is led to the above determination, not only from the particular guilt of Captain Callender, but the fatal consequences of such conduct to the army, and to the cause of America. He now, therefore, most earnestly exhorts officers of all ranks to show an example of bravery and courage to their men, assuring them, that such as do their duty in the day of battle, as brave and good officers, shall be honored with every mark of distinction and regard, and their names and merits be made known to the General Congress and all America; while, on the other hand, he positively declares, that every officer, be his rank what it may, who shall betray his country, and dishonor the army and his general, by basely keeping back and shrinking from his duty in any engagement, shall be held up as an infamous coward and punished as such, with the utmost martial severity; and no connexions, interest, or intercessions in his behalf will avail to prevent the strict execution of justice."

Captain Callender was cashiered for his conduct in the battle of Bunker's Hill, the charge of cowardice having been sustained against him before a court-martial. It is proper to state, however, that, whatever may have been the fact in this particular instance, Captain Callender afterwards fully vindicated himself from this imputation upon his character. "He continued with his corps as a volunteer, and desperately exposed himself in every action. At the battle of Long Island, the captain and lieutenant of the artillery company, in which he served, were shot. He assumed the command, and, refusing to retreat, fought his pieces to the last. The bayonets of the soldiers were just upon him, when a British officer, admiring his chivalrous and desperate courage, interfered and saved him."—Swett's *History of Bunker-Hill Battle*, p. 57. He continued in the service to the end of the war, and his military reputation remained unsullied.

The following order was issued the day after General Washington took command of the army.

"The Continental Congress having now taken all the troops of the

several colonies, which have been raised or which may be hereafter raised for the support and defence of the liberties of America, into their pay and service, they are now the troops of the United Provinces of North America; and it is hoped, that all distinctions of colonies will be laid aside, so that one and the same spirit may animate the whole, and the only contest be, who shall render on this great and trying occasion the most essential service to the great and common cause, in which we are all engaged. It is required and expected, that exact discipline be observed, and due subordination prevail through the whole army, as a failure in these most essential points must necessarily produce extreme hazard, disorder, and confusion, and end in shameful disappointment and disgrace. The General most earnestly requires and expects a due observance of those articles of war, established for the government of the army, which forbid profane cursing, swearing, and drunkenness. And in like manner he requires and expects of all officers and soldiers, not engaged on actual duty, a punctual attendance on Divine service, to implore the blessings of Heaven upon the means used for our safety and defence."

Orders conceived in the same spirit, and inculcating the same sentiments, were often repeated; and it is an interesting fact, that, through the channel of his daily orders, Washington did not strive more earnestly to secure the discipline, than to strengthen the patriotism and improve the morals of his soldiers.

A graphic description of the American camp is contained in a letter from the Reverend William Emerson, a chaplain in the army, written a few days after the arrival of the Commander-in-chief.

"There is great overturning in the camp, as to order and regularity. New lords new laws. The Generals Washington and Lee are upon the lines every day. New orders from his Excellency are read to the respective regiments every morning after prayers. The strictest government is taking place, and great distinction is made between officers and soldiers. Every one is made to know his place and keep in it, or be tied up and receive thirty or forty lashes according to his crime. Thousands are at work every day from four till eleven o'clock in the morning. It is surprising how much work has been done. The lines are extended almost from Cambridge to Mystic River, so that very soon it will be morally impossible for the enemy to get between the works, except in one place, which is supposed to be left purposely unfortified to entice the enemy out of their fortresses. Who would have thought, twelve months past, that all Cambridge and Charlestown would be covered over with American

camps, and cut up into forts and intrenchments, and all the lands, fields, orchards laid common, horses and cattle feeding in the choicest mowing land, whole fields of corn eaten down to the ground, and large parks of well regulated locusts cut down for firewood and other public uses? This, I must say, looks a little melancholy.

"My quarters are at the foot of the famous Prospect Hill, where such great preparations are made for the reception of the enemy. It is very diverting to walk among the camps. They are as different in their form, as the owners are in their dress; and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons, who encamp in it. Some are made of boards, and some of sailcloth. Some partly of one and partly of the other. Again others are made of stone and turf, brick or brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry, others curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of the enemy. In these are the Rhode Islanders, who are furnished with tent-equipage, and every thing in the most exact English style. However, I think this great variety is rather a beauty than a blemish in the army."—*MS. Letter.*

No. IV. p. 19.

RETURNS OF THE ARMY.

TABLE

Exhibiting a Summary of the Returns of the Army under the Command of General Washington during the Years 1775 and 1776.

	Commissioned officers and staff.	Non-commissioned officers.	Rank and File.						Artillery.	Militia of Massachusetts.
			Present fit for duty.	Sick present.	Sick absent.	On furlough.	On command.	Total.		
1775.										
July 19,	1,119	1,768	13,743	1,108	490	376	1,053	16,770	585	
July 29,	1,117	1,823	13,899	1,330	690	287	692	16,898		
Aug. 5,	1,178	1,910	13,735	1,943	750	255	1,011	17,694	586	
Aug. 12,	1,234	2,023	14,544	2,131	977	187	1,124	18,963		
Aug. 18,	1,231	2,007	14,442	2,218	1,006	220	1,174	19,060		
Aug. 26,	1,242	2,018	14,701	2,179	1,071	225	1,127	19,303	596	
Sept. 2,	1,226	2,028	14,868	2,221	985	262	1,043	19,379		
Sept. 9,	1,303	2,107	14,766	2,026	988	312	1,410	19,532		
Sept. 23,	1,225	2,034	14,330	1,886	931	468	1,750	19,365	590	
Oct. 17,	1,191	1,988	13,923	1,476	952	746	2,400	19,497		
Nov. 18,	1,128	1,925	12,741	1,472	790	1,012	3,063	19,078	579	
Nov. 25,	1,068	1,866	12,065	1,464	805	1,626	2,990	18,950		
Dec. 30,	1,088	1,736	11,752	1,206	542	1,013	2,273	16,786	590	3,231
1776.										
Jan. 8,	979	1,150	10,209	705	233	1,044	1,318	13,509		
Jan. 21,	861	1,167	9,424	1,174	194	714	1,171	12,677		
Jan. 28,	850	1,194	9,790	1,422	245	420	1,248	13,134		
Feb. 4,	896	992	8,863	1,153	270	99	1,233	11,618		
Feb. 18,	1,245	1,452	13,396	1,687	364	49	1,569	17,065	622	
Feb. 25,	1,228	1,515	14,123	2,056	389	63	1,845	18,276		6,287
March 2,	1,217	1,521	14,140	2,398	367	49	1,574	18,528	635	6,869
March 9,	1,254	1,535	14,232	2,445	330	29	1,374	18,410	640	6,838
April 28,	672	879	8,101	602	632	52	848	10,235		
May 2,	597	758	6,900	618	279	51	995	8,843		
May 12,	589	722	6,641	547	352	66	1,122	8,728	513	
May 19,	592	757	6,717	577	303	61	1,109	8,767	527	
June 12,	595	772	6,749	659	250	63	1,147	8,868	599	
June 28,	677	870	7,389	744	231	73	1,931	10,368	585	
July 6,	865	1,096	8,802	1,077	239	61	1,742	11,921*	588	
July 13,	1,096	1,379	10,319	1,447	257	56	2,590	14,669*		
July 20,	1,100	1,406	10,106	1,798	269	70	2,623	14,866*		
July 27,	1,108	1,474	9,516	2,296	254	86	3,063	15,215*	588	
Aug. 3,	1,225	1,502	10,514	3,039	629	97	2,946	17,225*	585	
Sept. 21,	2,027	2,501	15,666	4,418	3,379	93	3,736	27,292*	543	
Sept. 28,	1,791	2,182	14,759	4,175	3,344	122	3,479	25,879*	531	
Oct. 5,	1,808	2,317	14,783	4,792	3,327	131	4,115	27,148*	580	
Dec. 22,	677	729	4,707	680	2,590	87	2,952	11,016		

The above table is condensed from the original returns of the adjutant-general to the Commander-in-chief. These returns, though commonly made at stated times, were necessarily imperfect, on account of the fluctuating condition of the army. They embrace such troops only, as were under the immediate command of General Washington, and not those that were in the northern or southern departments, nor the militia acting under the authority of particular States, and within the limits of those States.

On the 30th of March, 1776, after the main body of the army had marched to New York, five regiments of Continental troops remained in Boston, amounting to two thousand one hundred and sixty-eight men; and there were at the same time six thousand six hundred and ninety-eight militia, who were soon disbanded.

The first returns of militia at New York were made out on the 6th of July, and were included in the returns of the Continental army. This plan was followed till October 5th, so that it is not easy to tell within that period the respective numbers of each. The Continental troops, however, averaged from ten to twelve thousand. The aggregates, to which asterisks are affixed, include both the Continental troops and militia. There seems to be a deficiency in the returns for September 28th, as the aggregate is considerably smaller, than in the week preceding and the week following.

Colonel Knox's regiment of artillery was diminished in March, by a company left at Boston. It was enlarged again in June, by the addition of Captain Hamilton's company of New York artillery.

The first return of cavalry was on the 28th of September, when one hundred and sixty light-horse were returned.

No. V. p. 41.

INDIANS.

During the former wars in America between the English and French, it had been customary on each side to solicit aid from the Indians, and employ them as auxiliaries. Such had been the uniform practice from the first settlement of the country, and it was to be presumed that the same system would be pursued in the revolution. Considering the ferocity of these people, and the wild and savage manner in which they engaged in all the enterprises of war,

it is no wonder that the policy of seeking their alliance, or even permitting their aid, should be regarded by every friend of humanity with unqualified reprobation. Writers of all parties have united in condemning a practice, so unjustifiable in itself, and so hostile to the principles of civilization, while at the same time belligerents of all parties have continued to follow it, even down to the late war between England and the United States.

It has been usual in America to represent the English as much the most censurable on this score in the revolutionary war, and if we estimate the amount of deserved censure by the effects produced, this opinion is no doubt correct. But such is not the equitable mode of judging on the subject, since the principle and intention are chiefly concerned, and not the policy of the measure, nor the success of its execution. Taken on this ground, historical justice must award to the Americans a due share of the blame. Before the rencounter at Lexington and Concord, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had enlisted in their service a company of minute-men among the Stockbridge Indians residing in that colony, and had even written the following letter to the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, a missionary to the Indians in the western parts of New York.

"Concord, 4 April, 1775.

"Sir,

"The Provincial Congress have thought it necessary to address the sachem of the Mohawk tribe, with the rest of the Six Nations, upon the subject of the controversy between Great Britain and the American colonies. We are induced to take this measure, as we have been informed, that those who are inimical to us in Canada have been tampering with those nations, and endeavouring to attach them to the interest of those, who are attempting to deprive us of our inestimable rights and privileges, and to subjugate the colonies to arbitrary power. From a confidence in your attachment to the cause of liberty and your country, we now transmit to you the enclosed address, and desire you will deliver it to the sachem of the Mohawk tribe to be communicated to the rest of the Six Nations, and that you will use your influence with them to join with us in the defence of our rights; but, if you cannot prevail with them to take an active part in this glorious cause, that you will at least engage them to stand neuter, and not by any means to aid and assist our enemies; and as we are at a loss for the name of the sachem of the Mohawk tribe, we have left it to you to direct the address to him in such way as you may think proper."

From this paper it is evident, that the Massachusetts Congress

were disposed to engage the Six Nations in the contest, which it was foreseen must soon commence. The reason for this step, however, must not be overlooked. The leaders in Massachusetts had sent emissaries into Canada, instructed to consult with a few friends to the American cause known to be in that province, and to report such information as they should obtain respecting the temper of the people, particularly the Canadians, and the designs and movements of the English party, as far as they could be ascertained. Letters from these emissaries, and other persons in Canada, agreed in the statement, that secret agents had been sent among the Indians of the Six Nations to gain them over and stir them up against the colonists. On the strength of this intelligence the Massachusetts Congress sent the above letter, and the address accompanying it. The Stockbridge Indians were retained in service for some time after the war began, and came down and joined the camp at Cambridge. It was likewise from apprehensions of the English influence at Quebec on the eastern Indians, that the same Congress wrote to the Penobscot tribe, May 15th, promising them protection, and proposing to enlist and take into pay a company of their young men. Captain Lane, who went on this service, sent down a chief and three other Indians to Watertown, as ambassadors from their tribe to the Congress then sitting at that place. — *MS. Journal of the Provincial Congress, May 15th and June 21st. — Captain Lane's Letter, June 9th.*

It was also rumored, and subsequent events confirmed the suspicion, that Colonel Guy Johnson and Sir John Johnson, who resided on the Mohawk River, the latter as Indian Agent under the King's appointment, were instigating the Indians in that quarter, and preparing them for hostilities. But notwithstanding the attempts of persons in the British interest to engage the Indians in the quarrel, no encouragement was afforded by the Continental Congress to any efforts of this kind, on the part of the colonies, till more than a year after the contest had begun. Their first plan was that of conciliation and neutrality.

Soon after the meeting of the second Congress, in 1775, the subject of the Indians was taken into consideration, and in July three Indian departments were constituted, the northern, middle, and southern, and commissioners were appointed for each. The duty prescribed to the commissioners was to hold councils with the Indians, form treaties, and endeavour to keep them in peace. In an address sent out at the same time by the Congress to the Six Nations, it was stated ; — "We desire you will hear and receive what we have now told you, and that you will open a good ear and listen to what we

are now going to say. This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We do not wish you to take up the hatchet against the King's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and behalf of all our people, we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our troubles; that the path may be kept open with all our people and yours, to pass and repass without molestation." In conformity with this counsel, a treaty was made with some of the northern Indians, but to little purpose. It was not consistent with their nature or habits to be in the midst of a war, without taking a part on one side or the other. Through the influence of the Johnsons and others, the Six Nations for the most part adhered to the British. After the sanguinary affair at the Cedars, where the savages, under the command of a British officer, but as it would seem not under his control, murdered several American prisoners, and a threat was given out, that the others should share the same fate if any attempt were made to rescue them, the Congress openly changed their system. On the 25th of May, 1776, they resolved, "that it was highly expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the United Colonies," and they empowered the General to employ in Canada and elsewhere a number not exceeding two thousand, offering them a "reward of one hundred dollars for every commissioned officer, and thirty dollars for every private soldier of the King's troops, that they should take prisoners in the Indian country, or on the frontiers of these colonies." — *Secret Journal, May 25th, June 3d, 17th.* The Congress also authorized General Washington to employ the Indians of Penobscot, St. John's, and Nova Scotia, who had proffered their services. They were to receive the same pay as the Continental soldiers, but whether any of them ever joined the army, or were ever embodied for that purpose, may at least be doubted.

In short, whatever scheme was pursued at any time in regard to the Indians, it may be asserted with truth, that they rendered no essential aid to the cause of the United States during the war. Their friendship was seldom sincere, and always cost more than it was worth. As the British occupied the frontiers, they had every advantage in operating upon these people, and it was to be expected, that they would understand and profit by this state of things. The Indians fought for pay and plunder. According to their custom of warring upon each other, they committed ravages and frightful cruelties on the border inhabitants, which excited the indignation of the country. The blame was laid at the door of the British ministry, who

were believed to approve, if not to promote, these acts of barbarity and horror, and the impression derived from this source contributed not a little to fan the flame of animosity, which had been kindled by the original causes of the war.

No. VI. p. 43.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GENERAL CHARLES LEE AND GENERAL BURGOYNE.

General Burgoyne and General Lee had served together in Portugal, and an intimate friendship of long standing subsisted between them. When the former arrived in Boston, General Lee was at Philadelphia, not yet appointed to his command in the American army, and he wrote a letter to his friend, filled with invectives against the British court and cabinet, setting forth with his usual ability and eloquence the injustice of their proceedings in regard to the colonies, and explaining his own views of the merits of the contest. This letter, though written with a warmth approaching to violence, was received in good part, and was answered by General Burgoyne in terms of courtesy and kindness, on the 8th of July, after it was known to him that General Lee had joined the American camp. In closing his letter, General Burgoyne proposed an interview with his friend at Brown's house, on Boston Neck, a little within the British advanced sentries, pledging his parole of honor for the safe return of General Lee, and soliciting the same for himself. This invitation General Lee was inclined to accept, but, not choosing to do it without the sanction of the civil authority, he laid the matter before the Provincial Congress.

"Head-Quarters, 10 July, 1775.

"General Lee presents his respects to the President and gentlemen of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and submits to their perusal a letter, which he yesterday received from General Burgoyne in answer to one, which was read and approved by the delegates of this province, and other members of the Continental Congress. He begs leave to receive their commands, with respect to the proposed interview. If they approve it, he shall be glad to accept of it; if they disapprove, he shall reject it. But if they approve

it, he must request that they will depute some one gentleman of their body to accompany General Lee, and be witness of the conversation. He desires their answer immediately, as he has engaged to inform General Burgoyne by four o'clock this afternoon whether the interview is to take place. He will be much obliged to the gentlemen if they will return the letter, but if they choose to take a copy he can have no objection."

The Congress appointed a committee to report on the subject, and after as much deliberation as the shortness of the time would permit, they returned the following answer on the same day.

"Sir,

"The Congress have perused the letter from General Burgoyne, which you were kind enough to submit to their inspection. They can have no objection to the proposed interview, from any want of the highest confidence in the wisdom, discretion, and integrity of General Lee; but, as the confidence of the people in their generals is so essentially necessary to the well conducting of the enterprise in which we are engaged, and as a people contending for their liberties are naturally disposed to jealousy, and not inclined to make the most favorable construction of the motives of conduct, which they are not fully acquainted with, they beg leave to suggest whether such an interview might not have a tendency to lessen the influence, which the Congress would wish to extend to the utmost of their power to facilitate the operations of war. The Congress, agreeably to your request, and to prevent as far as we are able any disagreeable consequences, which may arise from the jealousy of the people on such an occasion, have appointed Mr. Elbridge Gerry to attend you at the proposed interview, if you shall think proper to proceed in it; and, as they do not think themselves authorized to counteract the General's inclination, they would submit it to his opinion whether the advice of a council of war might not be taken in a matter of such apparent delicacy." — *MS. Journal, July 10th.*

These hints had their effect on the mind of General Lee, and he wrote a complimentary note to General Burgoyne, the next day, declining the interview.

When General Lee entered into the service of the United Colonies, he represented to Congress, that by such a step he must not only give up his half-pay as a British officer, but run the risk of losing a considerable portion of his private fortune. Whereupon it was resolved, "That these colonies will indemnify General Lee for any loss of property, which he may sustain by entering into their service." — *Secret Journal, June 19th.* — *Remembrancer*, Vol. I. p. 139.

No. VII. p. 60.

GENERAL GAGE'S ANSWER TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"Boston, 13 August, 1775.

Sir,

"To the glory of civilized nations, humanity and war have been compatible; and compassion to the subdued is become almost a general system. Britons, ever preëminent in mercy, have outgone common examples, and overlooked the criminal in the captive. Upon these principles your prisoners, whose lives by the law of the land are destined to the cord, have hitherto been treated with care and kindness, and more comfortably lodged than the King's troops in the hospitals; indiscriminately it is true, for I acknowledge no rank, that is not derived from the King.

"My intelligence from your army would justify severe recrimination. I understand there are of the King's faithful subjects, taken some time since by the rebels, laboring, like negro slaves, to gain their daily subsistence, or reduced to the wretched alternative, to perish by famine or take arms against their King and country. Those who have made the treatment of the prisoners in my hands, or of your other friends in Boston, a pretence for such measures, found barbarity upon falsehood.

"I would willingly hope, Sir, that the sentiments of liberality, which I have always believed you to possess, will be exerted to correct these misdoings. Be temperate in political disquisition; give free operation to truth, and punish those who deceive and misrepresent; and not only the effects, but the causes, of this unhappy conflict will be removed. Should those, under whose usurped authority you act, control such a disposition, and dare to call severity retaliation, to God, who knows all hearts, be the appeal for the dreadful consequences. I trust that British soldiers, asserting the rights of the state, the laws of the land, the being of the constitution, will meet all events with becoming fortitude. They will court victory with the spirit their cause inspires; and, from the same motive, will find the patience of martyrs under misfortune.

"Till I read your insinuations in regard to ministers, I conceived that I had acted under the King, whose wishes, it is true, as well as those of his ministers, and of every honest man, have been to see this unhappy breach for ever closed; but, unfortunately for both countries, those who long since projected the present crisis, and influence

the councils of America, have views very distant from accommodation. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"Thomas Gage."

"George Washington, Esq."

On receiving this letter, General Washington resolved to adopt the same mode of treatment towards the British prisoners then in his possession, which was practised by General Gage. Colonel Reed, his secretary, wrote the next day by his order to the Council of Massachusetts, directing that the officers at Watertown and Cape Ann, who were prisoners, should be confined in Northampton jail, adding that, "as General Gage was resolved to know no distinction of rank among our prisoners in his hands, he was obliged, contrary to his disposition, to observe the same rule of treatment to those gentlemen; to whom it might be proper to explain the reasons of a conduct, which otherwise might appear harsh and cruel." This order was immediately complied with by the Council, so far as to send away the officers to the interior. But for some reason, not now understood, the General altered his mind in regard to their imprisonment, and his secretary wrote as follows to the Committee of Northampton.

"When Captain Knight and the other gentlemen went from hence yesterday, it was intended they should be put into the same confinement as prisoners of a common rank, but some circumstances have since changed this intention; and I now therefore by direction of his Excellency, General Washington, am to acquaint you, that Captain Knight and those of his company, for whom he will engage his and their parole of honor not to go out of the limits, which you may prescribe to them, are to be indulged with the liberty of walking about your town; and the General further requests, that every other indulgence and civility consistent with their security may be shown to them, as long as they demean themselves with decency and good manners. As they have committed no hostility against the people of this country, they have a just claim to mild treatment, and the General does not doubt, that your conduct towards them will be such, as to compel their grateful acknowledgments, that Americans are as merciful as they are brave."

Captain Knight had been recently taken prisoner at Machias, with six other officers of subordinate rank.

No. VIII. p. 116.

DR. BENJAMIN CHURCH.

The case of Dr. Church became a matter of consequence and notoriety, rather from the high station which he held in the ranks of those, who were leaders in the American cause, than from the substance of what was called his traitorous correspondence. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and had distinguished himself as a writer in prose and verse, on politics and miscellaneous subjects. He published a poem called *The Choice*, another called *The Times*, and *Elegies* on Mayhew and Whitefield, which were thought to indicate genius and poetical taste; and in that curious laudatory tribute of Harvard College to the King, entitled PIETAS ET GRATULATIO, dictated by the Muses in three languages, Greek, Latin, and English, the contribution of Dr. Church was pronounced by the critics, as Dr. Eliot informs us, to be the best in the collection. His oratorical powers were commended, particularly as displayed in an oration commemorative of the fatal 5th of March. His fertile pen supplied the newspapers with numerous essays on the political state of the times, in which he appeared as the champion of liberty, and a strenuous opposer of British encroachments.

With these claims to consideration, it was natural that he should be put forward when the day of trial came. As a member of the Provincial Congress he was prominent and active, serving on the important committees and trusted as a faithful friend. He was sent on a special mission to the Continental Congress, and obtained from that body the appointment of surgeon-general to the army. When General Washington left Philadelphia, Dr. Church's name was on the list of those recommended to him by the Massachusetts delegates, as worthy of special confidence; and he was one of the Committee appointed by the Provincial Congress to meet the General at Springfield, and accompany him to Cambridge.

He discharged the duties of his office in the army with approbation, till about the 1st of October, 1775, when it was discovered, that he had held a correspondence with his brother-in-law in Boston, a Mr. Fleming, who adhered to the enemy. The circumstances attending this discovery were somewhat remarkable. In the month of July, soon after General Washington took command of the army, Dr. Church gave a letter to a woman, who was going to Newport, and instructed her, when there, to go on board the British vessel in the harbour, com-

manded by Captain Wallace, and put the letter into his hands. A letter written at the time by Mr. Ward to General Greene, then at Cambridge, will explain the result.

"Providence, 26 September, 1775.

"Sir,

"This letter waits upon you by Mr. Maxwell, who goes down to Cambridge upon a matter, into which I think the strictest inquiry ought to be made. It is in short this. In July last a woman, with whom Mr. Wainwood had an acquaintance in Boston, came to his house and wanted him to assist her in procuring an opportunity of seeing Mr. Dudley or Captain Wallace, and by all her behaviour showed that she had some secret of consequence. He artfully drew from her, that she had been sent from Cambridge with a letter to be delivered to either of the persons above named, to be forwarded to Boston. It immediately occurred to him, that the letter was probably sent from some traitor in our army. Upon which he started every difficulty in the way of her seeing Dudley or Wallace, that he could think of, and finally prevailed upon her to entrust him with the delivery of the letter.

"He kept the affair to himself some time, being at a loss what step he should take in it, and at length imparted the secret to Mr. Maxwell, who, upon opening the letter, found it written in characters, which he did not understand. Here it rested until very lately, when Mr. Wainwood received a letter from the woman, discovering great uneasiness about the letter she had entrusted him with, which naturally induced a suspicion, that the writer of it still continued his correspondence in Boston, and had received information, that the letter had never been transmitted. Mr. Wainwood and Mr. Maxwell, who are both of them friends to the cause of America, rightly judging, that the continuance of such a correspondence might be attended with the most pernicious consequences to the interest of America, thought proper to come to Providence and consult me upon it, having prudently kept the matter entirely to themselves. By my advice they proceed to Cambridge, to lay it with all the circumstances before you.

"I think it best to introduce Mr. Maxwell to General Washington, and for you and the General, with not more than one trusty person besides, to consider as to the most prudent measures to discover the traitor. Perhaps the first step should be to take up the woman, who is now at Cambridge, in so private a way as to create no suspicion; and it is probable, that rewards and punishments properly placed before her will induce her to give up the author; in which case he,

with all his papers, ought to be instantly secured. If the woman should be obstinate, some clew may be found from her connexions that will probably lead to a discovery. But I beg pardon for undertaking to give my advice in this case, when you, upon the spot, possessed of all the circumstances, will be so much better able to judge of the measures proper to be pursued. As Mr. Wainwood is well known to many of the inhabitants of Boston, I have advised him to go no further than Dedham, where he may be sent for as soon as it shall be thought proper for him to appear. I will only add, that if they are happily the means of discovering a treacherous correspondence, carried on by any person of note and trust in our public affairs, they will do a most essential service to their country, and deserve an adequate reward. I am, with great truth and esteem, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"HENRY WARD."

This letter was shown by General Greene to the Commander-in-chief, together with the suspicious epistle in cipher. The woman was examined, but she refused to name the author, or give any information on the subject. She at last yielded to threats or persuasion, and said she received the letter from Dr. Church, before she went to Newport. He was immediately arrested and put under guard. Meantime the obnoxious epistle was deciphered by the Reverend Samuel West, a learned and eminent divine of that day, who was then acting as one of the chaplains in the army. The task of deciphering was not difficult. The original is now among Washington's papers. Although the characters are wholly arbitrary, yet as each character stands for a distinct letter in the alphabet, a little patience only was necessary to ascertain by repeated experiments a small number of the consonants and vowels in the words, which most frequently occur in composition. Colonel Porter, assisted by Mr. Gerry, also deciphered the letter, after it had been done by Mr. West, and a copy thus obtained was sent by Mr. Gerry to the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress. But the copy used at the trial of Dr. Church, and afterwards published, was the one deciphered by Mr. West.

As soon as Dr. Church found out, that the contents of the letter were known, he wrote an incoherent account of the matter to General Washington, attempting to vindicate himself from any design unfriendly to his country. A council of war assembled, at which all the generals were present. Dr. Church was summoned, and, when the letter in cipher was produced, he confessed it was written by him,

and that the substance of it was accurately deciphered. He protested that he was innocent, and declared that his only motive was to prevent the enemy from making an attack upon the American lines, in their present dangerous condition from want of powder, by exaggerating their strength and resources, and in the hopes of effecting a speedy accommodation of the dispute between the two countries. The members of the council were not satisfied with his asseverations, and they were unanimously of the opinion, that he had carried on a criminal correspondence. The council moreover decided, that the articles of war did not authorize them to inflict an adequate punishment for a crime of this nature, and that the case should be referred to Congress.

Dr. Church was kept in close custody; and, as he was a member of the Massachusetts General Court, the Commander-in-chief sent to that body at their request the proceedings of the council and other papers. A resolve was passed to bring the delinquent member to the bar of the House, and require him to show cause, if he had any, why he should not be expelled. Accordingly on a stated day he was conducted under guard from Cambridge to Watertown, and examined before the House with a good deal of form and ceremony. See *Journal, October 27th.* His defence, as written out by himself and since published in the first volume of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, is ingenious and able; but his arguments were not convincing to his auditors, however much they might be moved by his rhetoric and eloquence. He was expelled by a vote of the House, and his seat declared vacant.

A still severer ordeal awaited him in the Continental Congress. After considering the case, as laid before them in General Washington's letter, they decided that Dr. Church should be confined in a jail in Connecticut, without the use of pen, ink, or paper, and that he should not be allowed to converse with any person, except in the hearing of a magistrate of the town, or sheriff of the county. He was accordingly imprisoned at Norwich. In May following his friends petitioned Congress for his release from confinement on the ground that his health was suffering. This petition was granted, upon condition that he should be removed to Massachusetts and be put in charge of the Council of that colony, giving his parole with sureties in the penalty of one thousand pounds, that he would not hold correspondence with the enemy, nor go out of that colony without a licence. He returned, and during the year obtained permission to depart for the West Indies. As the vessel in which he sailed was never heard of afterwards, it was supposed to have been lost at sea.

There was a difference of opinion as to the intentions of Dr. Church. His letter contained little, if any thing, which could have an injurious effect upon the American cause. His conduct at his examination and trial was said to indicate guilt; and it was thought inconceivable, that a man of his sense and character should resort to such shallow means, and employ them in so strange a manner, to attain such a purpose as he pretended. It was indubitable, that he had held a secret correspondence with the enemy. This act was in itself deemed a crime of the deepest die. For this he was condemned and punished. If his designs were innocent, he was unfortunate; but the burden of proof lay upon himself; and public justice could not be satisfied by his individual assertion, nor by the plea of folly or mistake.

No. IX. p. 118.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GENERAL GAGE AND LORD DARTMOUTH.

The following extracts from the correspondence between General Gage and Lord Dartmouth, while the former commanded in Boston, are not more curious than valuable as historical records, which have not before been made public. They discover in an especial manner the kind and degree of information, upon which the English government proceeded in that eventful crisis; showing alike the strange misapprehensions and wavering counsels of the General in America, and the impracticable aims of the ministry at home. These extracts are copied from the original letters.

GENERAL GAGE TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

"*Boston, 2 November*, 1774. — The Americans confide in their numbers, and a small force rather encourages resistance than terrifies. If I may venture an opinion in matters of such consequence, I should take the liberty to tell your Lordship, that I am confident, if the misunderstandings proceed to the last extremity, that to begin with an army of twenty thousand strong will in the end save Great Britain both blood and treasure. Your Lordship will doubtless receive many accounts of the situation of this country; this province

without courts of justice or legislature, the whole country in a ferment, many parts of it, I may say, actually in arms and ready to unite. Letters from other provinces tell us they are violent every where, and that no decency is observed in any place but New York. Great Britain had never more occasion for firmness, wisdom, and unanimity."

"*November 15th.*—The proceedings of the Continental Congress astonish and terrify all considerate men; but though I am confident, that many of their resolutions neither can nor will be observed, I fear they will generally be received, as there does not appear to be resolution and strength enough among the more sensible and moderate people in any of the provinces openly to reject them. This Provincial Congress [of Massachusetts] has been encouraged by the general union, and the readiness shown by the rest of the New England provinces to appear in arms at their call, to go the length they have."

"*January 18th*, 1775.—The eyes of all are turned upon Great Britain; and it is the opinion of most people, that, if a respectable force is seen in the field, the most obnoxious of the leaders seized, and a pardon proclaimed for all others, government will come off victorious, and with less opposition than was expected a few months ago."

LORD DARTMOUTH TO GENERAL GAGE.

"*London, January 27th.*—The violences committed by those, who have taken up arms in Massachusetts, have appeared to me as the acts of a rude rabble, without plan, without concert, without conduct; and therefore I think that a small force now, if put to the test, would be able to conquer them, with greater probability of success, than might be expected from a larger army, if the people should be suffered to form themselves upon a more regular plan, to acquire a confidence from discipline, and to prepare themselves, without which every thing must be put to the issue of a single action.

"In this view of the situation of the King's affairs, it is the opinion of the King's servants, in which his Majesty concurs, that the first essential step to be taken towards reëstablishing government would be to arrest and imprison the principal actors and abettors in the Provincial Congress (whose proceedings appear in every light to be acts of treason and rebellion), if regardless of your proclamation, and in defiance of it, they shall presume again to assemble for such rebellious purposes; and if the steps taken upon the occasion be accompanied with due precaution, and every means be devised to keep

the measure secret till the moment of execution, it can hardly fail of success, and will perhaps be accomplished without bloodshed. But however that may be, I must again repeat, that any efforts on their part to encounter a regular force cannot be very formidable, and though such a proceeding should be, according to your idea of it, a signal for hostilities, yet for the reasons I have already given, it will surely be better, that the conflict should be brought on upon such a ground, than in a riper state of the rebellion.

"It must be understood, however, of all I have said, that this is a matter, which must be left to your own discretion to be executed or not, as you shall, upon weighing all the circumstances, think most advisable. It is here considered as the best and most effectual means of vindicating the authority of the kingdom. Some attention must be given to the consideration of what it may be fit to do with those, who shall be made prisoners in consequence of this proceeding; and here I must confess the little hope I have, that, in the present situation of things, and the temper of the population, they could be prosecuted to conviction. Their imprisonment, however, will prevent their doing any further mischief; and, as the courts of justice are at present not permitted to be opened, the continuance of that imprisonment will be no slight punishment.

"With regard to the state of America in general, affairs there are now come to a crisis, in which the government of this country must act with firmness and decision. You will be on your guard, and on no account suffer the people, at least of the town of Boston, to assemble themselves in arms on any pretence whatever, either of town guards or militia duty; and I the rather mention this, as a report prevails, that you have not only indulged them in having such a guard, but have also allowed their militia to train and discipline in Faneuil Hall. In reviewing the charter of Massachusetts, I observe there is a clause, that empowers the governor to use and execute the law martial in time of actual war, invasion, and *rebellion*. The enclosed copies of a reply made to me by the attorney and solicitor general contain an opinion, that the particulars stated in the papers you have transmitted are the history of an actual and open rebellion in that province; and therefore I conceive, that according to that opinion the exercise of that power is strictly justifiable, but the expediency and propriety of adopting such a measure must depend upon your own discretion under many circumstances, that can only be judged of on the spot."

GENERAL GAGE TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

"*Boston, February 17th.*—If the Provincial Congress is not to be deemed a rebellious meeting, surely some of its resolves are rebellious, though they affect not to order, but to *recommend* measures to the people, which measures I have learned, from the emissaries I have sent through the country, have not been regarded as to the raising of money, though they have been training men in several townships, as they could get them in the humor to assent. I would remark concerning this Congress, that though the whole assembly is concerned in the criminality of the measure, yet many went, and were purposely sent by their towns, to oppose the violent party."

LORD DARTMOUTH TO GENERAL GAGE.

"*London, April 15th.*—It would appear necessary and expedient, that all fortifications should be garrisoned by the King's troops, or dismantled and destroyed; that all cannon, small arms, and other military stores of every kind, that may be either in any magazine, or secreted for the purpose of aiding the rebellion, should also be seized and secreted, and that the persons of such, as, according to the opinion of his Majesty's attorney and solicitor general, have committed themselves in acts of treason and rebellion, should be arrested and imprisoned.

"I observed, that in your letter of January 18th, you said, that if a respectable force is seen in the field, the most obnoxious of the leaders seized, and a pardon proclaimed for all others, government will come off victorious. The two first of these objects are already provided for, and it only remains for me to signify to you the King's pleasure, that, if you shall continue to be of opinion, that an offer of pardon will be advisable, you do by virtue of the power already given to you by his Majesty's special commission, under the great seal for pardon for treason and other offences, issue a proclamation within your government at such time as you shall judge proper, offering a reasonable reward for apprehending the President, Secretary, and any other of the members of the Provincial Congress, whom you shall find to have been the most forward and active in that seditious meeting, requiring all persons who may, in consequence of their resolves and exhortations, have appeared in arms to oppose the law, to render themselves to the Governor and Council within a reasonable time, and declare, that upon such surrender, and upon taking the oaths of allegiance and making such declaration of their obedience, as you

shall think proper, they shall receive his Majesty's gracious pardon for all treasons they have committed." *

GENERAL GAGE TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

"*Boston, May 15th.* — They have been enlisting among the country people as many men as could be collected at forty shillings a man; and we are told they are enlisting them in the other provinces. If they proceed in their movements it seems impossible to be long before we come again to blows; and from the beginning I have perceived it was the wish and design of the leaders here to bring affairs to that crisis; but so to manage it as to bring the rest of the colonies to support them. It is astonishing how they have duped the whole continent."

"*June 12th.* — It has been mentioned to your Lordship, that the disaffected generally receive very quick intelligence of what is doing at home, and that those, who have committed themselves most notoriously in acts of treason and rebellion, fled upon the arrival of a ship from England some days before the Nautilus and Falcon sloops reached this place with your despatches. From what has passed, your Lordship will judge that a plan for rebellion has been long conceived, and the people's minds ripened for it, and it is now too open and manifest to need the opinion of the law officers. I hear that the rebels, after surprising Ticonderoga, made incursions and commenced hostilities upon the frontier of the province of Quebec, which will justify General Carleton to raise bodies of Canadians and Indians to attack them in return; and we need not be tender of calling on the savages, as the rebels have shown us the example, by bringing as many Indians down against us here as they could collect." †

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* It was in consequence of this letter, that General Gage issued his memorable Proclamation of the 12th of June, declaring the opposers of the King's government to be in rebellion, offering pardon to such as should immediately lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and publishing and ordering the use and exercise of the law martial in the province of Massachusetts.

† It is a singular fact, that the first intelligence of the capture of Ticonderoga was communicated to General Gage through a letter from Dr. Joseph Warren to Mr. John Scollay, dated May 17th, at Watertown, just one month before he was slain at Bunker's Hill. A copy of the letter was procured by General Gage and sent by him to Lord Dartmouth. The following is an extract.

"Thus a war is begun, which I have frequently said to you and others would, if not timely prevented, overturn the British empire; but I hope, after

"*June 25th.* — The success, of which I send your Lordship an account by the present opportunity, was very necessary in our present situation, and I wish most sincerely that it had not cost us so dear. The number of killed and wounded is greater, than our forces can afford to lose. The officers, who were obliged to exert themselves, have suffered very much, and we have lost some extremely good officers. The trials we have had show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be, and I find it owing to a military spirit, encouraged among them for a few years past, joined with an uncommon degree of zeal and enthusiasm, that they are otherwise. When they find cover, they make a good stand, and the country, naturally strong, affords it to them, and they are taught to assist its natural strength by art, for they intrench and raise batteries. They have fortified all the heights and passes around this town, from Dorchester to Medford or Mystic, and it is not impossible for them to annoy the town. *

"Your Lordship will perceive, that the conquest of this country is not easy, and can be effected only by time and perseverance, and strong armies attacking it in various quarters and dividing their forces. Confining your operations on this side only is attacking in the strongest part, and you have to cope with vast numbers. It might naturally be supposed, that troops of the nature of the rebel army would return home after such a check as they had got, and I hear many wanted to go off, but care has been taken to prevent it; for any man that returns home without a pass is immediately seized and sent back to his regiment. In all their wars against the French, they never showed so much conduct, attention, and perseverance as

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a full conviction both of our ability and resolution to maintain our rights, Britain will act with that wisdom, which is so absolutely necessary for her preservation; this I most heartily wish, as I feel a warm affection still for the parent state."

* With this letter was communicated the official account of the battle of Bunker's Hill, and a return of the killed and wounded. General Gage was recalled in conquence of the disastrous issue of that battle. A despatch had been made out for him, just before the news reached England, but not yet forwarded, in which a sketch of future operations was drawn, and important questions put to him, which he was desired to answer. As soon as intelligence of the battle arrived, a separate letter was written, August 2d, directing General Gage to hand over the despatch to General Howe, who would succeed him in the command, and closing with the following words.

"From the tenor of your letters, and from the state of affairs after the action of the 17th, the King is led to conclude, that you have little expectation of effecting any thing further this campaign, and has therefore commanded me to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do, as soon as conveniently may

they do now. I think it my duty to let your Lordship know the true situation of affairs, that administration may take measures accordingly.

"The people's minds are kept so much heated and inflamed, that they are always ripe for every thing that is extravagant. Truth is kept from them, and they are too full of prejudices to believe it, if laid before them, and so blind and bigoted, that they cannot see they have exchanged liberty for tyranny. No people were ever governed more absolutely, than those of the American provinces now are, and no reason can be given for their submission, but that it is a tyranny they have erected themselves, as they believe, to avoid greater evils."

LORD DARTMOUTH TO GENERAL GAGE.

"*London, July 1st.* — I am to presume, that the measure of sending out a detachment of your troops to destroy the magazines at Concord was taken after the fullest consideration of the advantages on the one hand, and hazards on the other, of such an enterprise, and of all the probable consequences that were to result from it. It is impossible for me to reflect upon this transaction, and upon all its consequences, without feelings, which, although I do not wish to conceal them, it is not necessary for me to express: but I believe every man of candor will agree with me in opinion, that, let the event be what it may, the rashness and rebellious conduct of the provincials on this occasion evince the necessity, and will manifest to all the world the justice of the measures, which the King has adopted for supporting the constitution, and in which his Majesty will firmly persevere.

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be after you receive this letter, return to England, in order to give his Majesty exact information of every thing, that it may be necessary to prepare, as early as possible, for the operations of the next year, and to suggest to his Majesty such matters in relation thereto, as your knowledge and experience of the service enable you to furnish."

It will hardly be deemed amiss to state in this place, that the American Congress showed a due degree of sensibility for the loss sustained by the nation in the death of General Warren, who fell at Bunker's Hill. At the same time that they voted to erect a monument to his memory (April 8th, 1777), they ordered, that his eldest son should be educated at the expense of the United States. And on the 1st of July, 1780, they resolved, that the half-pay of a major-general, to commence at the time of General Warren's death, should be paid out of the national treasury towards the education and maintenance of his three other children, the same to be continued till his youngest child should be of age. It appears by the treasury books, that this money was paid for several years after the war.

"From the moment the blow was struck, and the town of Boston invested by the rebels, there was no longer any reason to doubt of the intention of the people of Massachusetts Bay to commit themselves in open rebellion. The other three New England provinces have taken the same part, and in fact all America (Quebec, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas excepted) is in arms against Great Britain, and the people involved in the guilt of levying a war against the King in every sense of the expression. In this situation every effort must be made, both by sea and land, to subdue the rebellion."

GENERAL GAGE TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

"*Boston, July 24th.* — A pamphlet published by the Continental Congress, called a '*Declaration of the United Colonies*,' has been sent in from the rebel camp, copies of which will no doubt be sent to England from Philadelphia. They pay little regard to facts, for the contents of it are as replete with deceit and falsehood, as most of their publications. The rebellion being general, I know of no better plan to quell it, than that I mentioned to your Lordship in a former letter. This province began it, I might say this town, for here the arch-rebels formed their scheme long ago. This circumstance brought the troops first here, which is the most disadvantageous place for all operations, particularly where there is no diversion of the rebel forces, but all are collected into one point. Was this army in New York, that province might to all appearance be more easily reduced, and the friends of government be able to raise forces to join the troops."

"*August 26th.** — The designs of the leaders of the rebellion are plain, and every day confirms the truth of what was asserted years ago by intelligent people, that a plan was laid in this province, and adjusted with some of the same stamp in others, for a total independence, whilst they amused people in England, called the friends of America, as well as many in this country, with feigned professions of affection and attachment to the parent state, and pretended to be aggrieved and discontented only on account of taxation; that they have designedly irritated government by every insult, whilst they artfully poisoned the minds of the people and ripened them for insurrection. They would still deceive and lull the mother country into a belief, that nothing is meant against the nation, and that their quarrel

* The remarks here following relate to two intercepted letters of John Adams, printed in the present work, Vol. II. p. 499. They were enclosed in this letter to Lord Dartmouth.

is only with the ministers. But it is hoped, that the nation will see through this falsehood and deceit. It matters not who hold the helm of the state; the stroke is levelled at the British nation, on whose ruins they hope to build their so much vaunted American empire, and to rise like a Phœnix out of the ashes of the mother country."

"*September 20th.* — I am to hope, from the affection I bear to my country, that no man in Great Britain or Ireland will be long deceived by fallacious professions and declarations, but see, through all the disguise, that this is no sudden insurrection of America, but a preconcerted scheme of rebellion, hatched years ago in the Massachusetts Bay, and brought to this perfection by the help of adherents on both sides of the Atlantic."

"*At Sea, October 15th.** — It will give me pleasure, as I think it my duty, to send your Lordship every hint or intelligence, that can be of use at this important crisis; nor am I disposed to do it in a secret manner, as it behoves every man in such times as these to declare his sentiments openly. People agree now, that there has been a scheme for a revolt from the mother country, long conceived between those, who have most influence in the American councils, which has been preparing the people's minds by degrees for events, that at first view they regarded with horror and detestation. If the Boston Port Bill had not furnished a pretext for rebellion, something else would have brought it forward. Unfortunately few could believe it possible for them to prevail with the people to rise, and to the last the friends of government assured them it was only threats and menaces, meant to intimidate. Misfortune has arisen from this incredulity; for the rebels have been prepared to exercise their plan, while the government, not apprehensive of so general a revolt, has been unprepared to oppose it. The conduct of the leaders on the 19th of April evinced their intention to begin hostilities, and had they not commenced then, they would only have been deferred. Your Lordship has a perfect idea of the transactions of that day, which were so far unlucky, as it put an immediate stop to supplies of every kind. Otherwise our magazines would have been better filled.

"I am convinced, that the promoters of the rebellion have no real desire of peace, unless they have a *carte blanche*. Their whole conduct has been one scene of fallacy, duplicity, and dissimulation, by which they have duped many well inclined people. Your Lordship will judge if the last petition of the Congress to the King is to be

* This letter was written on General Gage's voyage to England, after resigning the command to General Howe.

relied upon; and yet we are told, that this petition was obtained by the most moderate of the members with great difficulty and after very long debate. There has been much heat and division in the Congress, and a jealousy of the New England members; and I am told it was owing to jealousy, that Washington was appointed to the command of the rebel army, in which there is much discontent. Lee is neither respected nor esteemed among them, though it is said, that he is supported by the Boston rulers in opposition to Washington, and that he is for making an attack without delay upon the troops, but that the rest think it too desperate an undertaking. The rebel forces are well fed, in general ill clothed and badly paid, though paper money has been issued to them lately. The credit of the paper is now kept up by force, and I have not heard that any plan has been fixed upon to redeem it.

"They give out that they expect peace on their own terms, through the inability of Britain to contend with them; and it is no wonder that such reports gain credit with the people, when letters from England and English newspapers give so much encouragement to rebellion. Many people are of the opinion, that the rebels will not hold together another year; but, though the country will be very greatly distressed, and the people tired of the work, I will take the liberty to say, that from their presumption, arrogance, and encouragement from England, we can rely on nothing but our own force to procure even decent terms of peace, and that, if it was ever necessary to obtain peace through the means of war, it is highly so in the present juncture. I transmit to your Lordship a packet of letters, that were picked out from a number of papers scattered about Cushing's house. They contain no intelligence of present transactions, but show the nature of the correspondence, that the two Lees, Dr. Franklin, and others kept up with the leaders of this rebellion."

Unable to account for the concert and unanimity, with which all the colonies joined in opposition to the British government, General Gage ascribes it to a purpose long settled among the colonists to break the bond of allegiance, and set up an independent power. This topic we have heretofore considered (Vol. II. p. 496), and shown that there was not the slightest foundation for such a supposition, either in the history of preceding events, or in the sentiments of the persons, who were then leading in the measures of resistance. It was natural, perhaps, that he should in this way solve the enigma of the ill success and want of foresight, by which his command in Boston had been signalized, and thus assign to himself and the ministers some plausible reason for his disappointment and failure. The true cause, how-

ever, was of quite a different character. It was the same, that had deceived and misled his superiors in Great Britain, as well as his coadjutors in America; a total ignorance of the spirit of the American people, and the actual state of feeling and opinion among them, produced by what they deemed the oppressive acts and imperious bearing of the British government during the last ten years. This ignorance generated a contempt, fatal to accurate observation, blinding the eyes and perverting the judgment, fruitful of deception and false hopes, equally unjustifiable in its origin and mischievous in its effects.

No. X. p. 125.

MARINE OPERATIONS.

When General Washington took command of the army, no measures had been adopted by Congress for prosecuting a naval warfare. The subject had never been in any shape brought before them. Rhode Island fitted out and armed two small schooners in June, 1775, which were chiefly intended to protect the waters of that colony from the depredations of the enemy's small craft, although before the end of the summer one of them was sent to cruise on the coast. Connecticut likewise about the same time fitted out one or two armed vessels. On the 20th of June the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts resolved to provide six armed vessels. — *MS. Journal, June 20th.* But it appears by General Washington's letter to the Continental Congress, that none of them had been got in readiness as late as the 12th of October.

The English army, and the inhabitants of Boston, being entirely excluded from any communication with the country, it was necessary that all their supplies should come by water, and the multitude of small vessels employed for this purpose suggested the idea of providing some means of diminishing the enemy's resources by capturing these vessels. The General had received no instructions from Congress, which authorized him to engage in naval enterprises; but he thought that the powers with which he was vested, by a proper construction, enabled him to attempt any designs to annoy and distress the enemy, which should not operate to the disadvantage of the great

interests entrusted to him. There being sea captains and sailors in the army, he formed the project of employing a select number of them on their congenial element, and sent persons to Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, and Plymouth, to find out and engage for the public service suitable vessels, which could be expeditiously prepared for a short cruise. He appointed agents to superintend the necessary preparations and furnish supplies, and also to take charge of prizes when brought in, and to dispose of them according to such directions as they should receive. The first person commissioned as a naval commander, under the authority of the Continental Congress, or rather the authority of Washington derived from Congress, was Captain Broughton of Marblehead.

TO CAPTAIN NICHOLSON BROUGHTON.

Instructions.

"1. You, being appointed a captain in the army of the United Colonies of North America, are hereby directed to take the command of a detachment of said army, and proceed on board the schooner Hannah, at Beverly, lately fitted out and equipped with arms, ammunition, and provisions at the Continental expense.

"2. You are to proceed, as commander of said schooner, immediately on a cruise against such vessels as may be found on the high seas or elsewhere, bound inwards and outwards to or from Boston, in the service of the ministerial army, and to take and seize all such vessels, laden with soldiers, arms, ammunition, or provisions for or from said army, or which you shall have good reason to suspect are in such service.

"3. If you should be so successful as to take any of such vessels, you are immediately to send them to the safest and nearest port to this camp, under a careful prize-master, directing him to notify me by express immediately of such capture, with all particulars, and there to wait my farther direction.

"4. You are to be very particular and diligent in your search after all letters and other papers, tending to discover the designs of the enemy, or of any other kind, and to forward all such to me as soon as possible.

"5. Whatever prisoners you may take, you are to treat with kindness and humanity, as far as is consistent with your own safety. Their private stock of money and apparel is to be given them after being duly searched; and when they arrive at any port, you are to apply

to the Committee, or to any officer of the Continental army stationed at such port, for a guard to bring them up to head-quarters.

"6. For your own encouragement, and that of the other officers and men, to activity and courage in this service, over and above your pay in the Continental army, you shall be entitled to one third part of the cargo of every vessel by you taken and sent into port (military and naval stores only excepted, which, with vessels and apparel, are reserved for public service), which said third part is to be divided among the officers and men in the following proportions; to a captain six shares; a first lieutenant five; a second lieutenant four; ship's master three; steward two; mate one and a half; gunner one and a half; boatswain one and a half; gunner's mate and sergeant one and a half; privates one share each.

"7. You are particularly charged to avoid any engagement with any armed vessel of the enemy, though you may be equal in strength, or may have some small advantage, the design of this enterprise being to intercept the supplies of the enemy, which will be defeated by your running into unnecessary engagements.

"8. As there may be other vessels employed in the same service with yourselves, you are to fix upon proper signals, and, your stations being settled so as to take the greatest range, avoid cruising on the same ground. If you should happen to take prizes in sight of each other, the rules, which take place among private ships of war, are to be observed in the distribution of the prize-money.

"9. In case of retaking the vessel of any friend to the American cause, I will recommend it to such person to make a suitable compensation to those, who have done such a service; but such vessels are not to be deemed as coming within the directions respecting other vessels.

"10. You are to be extremely careful and frugal of your ammunition, by no means to waste any of it in salutes, or for any purpose, but what is absolutely necessary.

"Given under my hand, at Head-Quarters, Cambridge, this 2d day of September, 1775.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Before the end of October, six vessels of a small size had been armed and manned, and sent out to cruise within the Capes. It was the design, as expressed in the instructions, to intercept the enemy's supplies, and not to seek for encounters with armed vessels. The six schooners were commanded by Captains Broughton, Selman, Manly, Martindale, Coit, and Adams; and the names of five of them were

the Hannah, Harrison, Lee, Washington, Lynch. Several prizes were brought in, some of which were valuable, particularly one taken by Captain Manly, consisting of munitions of war, which was said to be worth ten thousand pounds. But, on the whole, the cruises of these vessels were not very satisfactory. Some of the officers proved incompetent, the men mutinied and caused difficulties, and the season was unfavorable. Captains Broughton and Selman had been unsuccessful in their cruise to the St. Lawrence, and had shown but little discretion in conducting the enterprise. They sent in several vessels, which were restored to the owners, as not being subject to capture. Captain Martindale's vessel was taken by the enemy, and himself made prisoner.

At length, on the 1st of February, 1776, the navy, if so it might be called, was formed into a new establishment, being composed of four vessels; the Hancock, commanded by Manly as commodore; the Warren, Captain Burke; the Lynch, Captain Ayres; the Harrison, Captain Dyer. The instructions were the same, as those originally given to Captain Broughton, with the addition of three articles; —

"1. As Captain Manly is appointed commodore of the four schooners now fitted out, he will fix upon proper signals by which you may know each other, and you are to obey him as such in all cases. If it should happen that a prize is taken in sight of other vessels, fitted out at the Continental expense, or at the charge of individuals, the rules, which take place among private ships of war, are to be observed in the distribution of the prize-money.

"2. You, your officers, and men are, from the date hereof, to consider yourselves as engaged in the service of the United Colonies, and in every respect subject to the rules and regulations formed by the Congress for the government of the army, raised for the defence of American liberty, or as nearly so as possible, consistent with the difference of the land and sea service. A book of the rules and articles you will receive herewith, at the end of which, you, your officers, and men must subscribe your names.

"3. As it is very apparent, that the ill success, which attended the major part of the armed vessels in former cruises, was owing to the want of industry, and to the inactivity of the officers who commanded; you will, therefore, take notice, that a fondness to be on shore, indolence, and inactivity will meet with their just deserts. For, if it appears, that the captain or any of the officers do not exert themselves, and do all that they possibly can for their own and the public good, they shall be dismissed from the service, and rendered in-

capable of serving their country in any honorable station hereafter in the army or navy."

As commodore of this little fleet, Captain Manly sustained and increased the high reputation he had already acquired. His valor and discretion became the theme of public applause, and so far attracted the attention of Congress, that when the navy of the United States was organized, he was appointed to the command of a frigate. The four vessels, put under his command in February, were successful; but after the evacuation of Boston, and the march of the army to New York, Washington had no more to do with naval affairs. His conduct in this matter received the full approbation of Congress.

No. XI. p. 130.

THE BURNING OF FALMOUTH.

As the burning of Falmouth was apparently a wanton act of power, and cruel in its effects on the people, it caused great indignation throughout the Continent. There seemed to be a fatality in the British operations at the beginning of the war, which were so conceived and executed, as to widen the breach, and kindle hostile feelings even in the breasts of those, who were then least inclined to pursue forcible measures of resistance.

The ministry have been too much censured, however, for these early acts of the British officers. It is certain, that neither the affair at Lexington and Concord, nor the destruction of Falmouth, was approved by the government. It was reported at the time, on the authority of Lieutenant Mowat, and history thus records it, that orders had been issued for burning all the seaport towns on the coast, and this was charged upon the British cabinet. — *Remembrancer*, Vol. II. p. 125. But I have seen the original correspondence between the minister and General Howe on this subject, in which the former expresses much surprise, that such an act should have been committed, and requires, in a tone almost amounting to a reprimand, that all the particulars should be forwarded to him for the inspection of the King. General Howe wrote the following explanation.

"Before the departure of General Gage, an expedition was concerted by the General and Admiral for the destruction of Cape Ann and Falmouth, two seaport towns on the coast to the eastward, that

were distinguished for their opposition to government. The Canceaux, and an armed transport, having a small detachment of troops on board, were sent to execute it. From circumstances it was found inexpedient to make any attack upon Cape Ann; whereupon they proceeded to Falmouth, which place, after giving timely warning to the inhabitants for the removal of themselves and effects, they destroyed on the 18th of October, burning about five hundred houses and fourteen sea vessels, and taking and destroying several others without any loss on our part."

This account was not satisfactory, and, on receiving it, Lord George Germain wrote again to General Howe; — "I am to suppose, that Admiral Graves had good reasons for the step he took to destroy the town of Falmouth, and that he did not proceed to that extremity without an absolute refusal on the part of the inhabitants to comply with those requisitions, stated in the orders he received from the Lords of the Admiralty, which, however, does not appear from any account of that transaction, which I have seen."

After the removal of the British army to Halifax, and General Howe had leisure to inquire into the matter more at large, he collected and sent to the minister the following particulars.

"In obedience to your Lordship's commands for a more explicit account of the expedition to Falmouth, which was entrusted to Lieutenant Mowat of the navy, assisted by a detachment of marines and artillery, I have reëxamined the officer, who commanded this detachment, and find that his orders from General Gage were, to embark on board several armed vessels, the 6th October, 1775, and to aid and assist Lieutenant Mowat in annoying and destroying all ships belonging to rebels on the coast and in the harbours to the eastward of Boston: that they first examined the harbour of Cape Ann, and finding the attack upon it inexpedient, they proceeded to Falmouth and laid the armed vessels before the town on the evening of their arrival, after which Lieutenant Mowat sent an officer on shore with a summons to the inhabitants to deliver up their arms and ammunition, acquainting them at the same time, that his orders directed him to destroy the town if they did not comply with his demand, of which they should be allowed two hours to consider and to remove their women and children.

"Shortly after, three persons deputed by the inhabitants came on board, requesting a longer time, and it was agreed to wait their answer until eight o'clock the next morning; about which hour the same persons returned, and reported that the inhabitants were determined to await their fate. Within half an hour a signal was made

by Lieutenant Mowat, the vessels began a cannonade, and several carcasses were thrown into the town, which set fire to the houses, and in a few hours consumed the greatest part of them. A detachment was then landed, who completed the destruction and reëmbarked without loss. The small vessels in the harbour were burnt, sunk, or brought away, and the armament returned to Boston the 5th of November without attempting any thing further."

By this statement it would appear, that Mowat's original instructions were to annoy and destroy the shipping in the harbours on the coast; but, from the boldness of his conduct, it is probable that in burning the town he acted with the consent, if not by the express orders of Admiral Graves, who, as Gordon relates, was offended with the people of Falmouth on account of the obstructions, which they had given to the shipment of masts from that place. Mowat had likewise been rudely treated at Falmouth a few months before, in consequence of the injudicious zeal and unjustifiable enterprise of Colonel Thompson and his adherents in seizing him while on shore; and this circumstance may be presumed to have been the primary cause of the rash and unwarrantable exploit of burning the town. No part of this reproach can rightfully attach to the British ministry. The act had no higher source, than the wounded pride of a subordinate officer, coinciding with the hasty resentment of his superior in command. In its results, however, nothing could have been more unfortunate for the cause of the government. The whole continent was roused to indignation at so wanton a deed, new antipathies were kindled, and the spirit of resistance became more intense and widely diffused.

For other particulars, and a plan of Falmouth when it was burnt, see Willis's *History of Portland*, Part II. p. 153.

No. XII. p. 206.

IMPRISONMENT OF JAMES LOVELL.

Mr. Lovell was a scholar, and a gentleman of the highest respectability. His letter to Washington was dated "Boston Prison, December 6th." The following is an extract.

"Charged with 'being a spy and giving intelligence to the rebels,' I have been suffering the pains and indignities of imprisonment from

the 29th of June last, without any sort of trial. Captain Balfour, aide-de-camp to General Howe, some time ago *directed Mrs. Lovell to tell me*, from the Commander-in-chief, that I must obtain the exchange of Colonel Skene and his son, as the only condition of my enlargement; and I have waited weeks in a vain hope of being enabled to write with more precision to your Excellency.

"I have no argument but of a private nature, to make use of upon this occasion; and it is addressed to your Excellency's humanity, which I am well satisfied will attend the decision of your wisdom. I myself am reduced to such a risk of life, and my family to such miseries, by my imprisonment, as to make both objects of compassion to all, who are not learnedly barbarous and cruel."

This letter was referred to a committee of the Continental Congress; the subject was considered, and a resolve passed, — "That Mr. James Lovell, an inhabitant of Boston, now held a close prisoner there, by order of General Howe, has discovered, under the severest trials, the warmest attachment to public liberty, and an inflexible fidelity to his country; that, by his late letter to General Washington, he has given the strongest evidence of disinterested public affection, in refusing to listen to terms offered for his relief, till he could be informed by his countrymen, that they were compatible with their safety and honor." — *Journals of Congress, January 5th*, 1776.

In consequence of this resolve, General Washington wrote to General Howe, on the 30th of January.

"Sir,

"I have it in command from the honorable Continental Congress to propose an exchange of Governor Skene for Mr. James Lovell and family. If the proposition is agreeable, you will please to signify as much to me and Mr. Lovell, that he may prepare for his removal, whilst I cause Mr. Skene to be brought to this place. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"George Washington."

GENERAL HOWE'S ANSWER.

"Boston, 2 February, 1776.

"Sir,

"In answer to your letter of the 30th ultimo, which was delivered with the seal broken, I am to acquaint you, that, having lately discovered a prohibited correspondence to be carried on by Mr. James Lovell, the liberty, which I fully intended to have given him, cannot take place. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"W. Howe."

The particulars of this prohibited correspondence are not explained. Mr. Lovell was kept in prison, till the British army evacuated Boston, and then was taken to Halifax, where he was still held in close confinement. By accident he and Ethan Allen met in the same jail. Allen had been a wanderer during his captivity, having first been sent from Montreal to England in irons, and then transported back to Halifax by way of Ireland and North Carolina. Several other Americans were incarcerated in the same apartment. Nothing more was done for the release of Mr. Lovell, till the July following, when Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, adjutant-general to the British army, had an interview with General Washington in New York, where the subject was renewed, and Colonel Paterson himself, in behalf of the British commander, proposed his exchange for Governor Skene. The case of Allen was also brought forward; but as he had been taken in Canada, the affair was considered as belonging to General Carleton's department, and General Howe declined any interference. Both the prisoners were brought to New York, and Mr. Lovell was exchanged in November. He was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress from Massachusetts, on the 10th of December, and reelected for several successive years; during a large portion of which he was chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, an important and responsible station.

Major Skene had been appointed Governor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and empowered to raise a regiment in America. On this ground he was taken into custody, when he arrived in Philadelphia, June, 1775; his papers were examined by order of Congress, and he was retained as a prisoner. — *Journals of Congress, June 8th.* He had been many years in the army; he was an ensign at Carthagena and Porto Bello under General Wentworth; he served in Flanders; was a lieutenant at the battle of Culloden; served under Sir Jeffrey Amherst in Canada; was first major of brigade at the conquest of Martinique and Havana, at which latter place he entered the breach when it was stormed; was often wounded; was appointed to run a line between Canada and the British colonies, and to superintend the settlement of the border country then uninhabited; and, in 1773, he applied to Lord Dartmouth to recommend him to the King for the appointment of Governor of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and their dependencies, where he at that time commanded a corps of militia, having lands and a residence at the southern extremity of Lake Champlain. — *MS. Memorial in the State Paper Office, London.*

No. XIII. p. 289.

LORD DRUMMOND.

Two attempts were made by Lord Drummond to propose a plan of reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies. They were both unavailing, and have little claim to notice, except as they emanated, in one instance at least, from high authority, and involved some particulars of interest in the events with which they were connected. The first notice of the matter is contained in a letter from Mr. Lynch to General Washington, dated at Philadelphia, January 16th, 1776, in which he says; —

"A gentleman well known in Maryland, Lord Drummond, just from England, tells me, that he has had many conversations with the ministry, and showed me a paper approved by each of them, and which he is sure will be supported in both Houses. The substance of it is, — America to be declared free in point of taxation and internal police; judges to be approved by the judges of England, and commissioned during good behaviour, upon stated and sufficient support to be statedly assigned them by the colonies; all charters to be held sacred; that of Boston to be restored; Britain to regulate trade *sub modo;* all duties laid for the purpose of regulation to be paid into the colony treasury where they arise, applicable to its uses by its own legislature, in lieu of which, America shall by duties on such articles as will probably keep pace in its consumption with the rise or declension of the colony, laid by each legislature by permanent act of Assembly, grant towards the general support of the empire annual sums in proportion to five thousand pounds sterling for this colony. As this sum is little more than half of what did arise by duties heretofore paid in this place, I doubted his information, but was assured, that ministry wanted nothing but a show of revenue to hold up to Parliament, as they are afraid to propose reconciliation, without saving what the stiff old Englishmen call the honor of the nation. His Lordship came hither through Halifax, Boston, and New York, where I fancy he saw what induced him to hint once or twice at beginning with a suspension of arms, to which I turned a very deaf ear, well knowing that the season of winter is ours, and that much may be done by April next. I sincerely wish I had your sentiments on these heads. I shall propose them to the consideration of Congress, as soon as the most urgent affairs are over. I think they merit it."

Three weeks afterwards, when Mr. Lynch was in New York, as one of a committee from Congress to consult with General Lee respecting the fortification and defence of that city, he there met Lord Drummond, and wrote again to General Washington; —

"I mentioned to you some time ago certain propositions, which Lord Drummond had been talking to me of. General Robertson writes to him by Clinton, that he (Clinton) is very desirous of being instrumental in bringing about the same end. It is mysterious to me how such a man should be sent on such an errand. Be it as it may, it will not produce any remission of our using the present moment to strengthen ourselves and weaken our enemies. Lord Drummond's great point is to get some member of Congress to go home, to inform the cabinet of the real desires and intentions of that body respecting the reëstablishment of peace. To promote this purpose he has desired me to enclose to you a letter, which, after you have read it, if you think it can do no harm, you will be so kind as to forward to Robertson, and to send his answer to his Lordship under your cover. Robertson will doubtless send it open to you."

LORD DRUMMOND TO GENERAL ROBERTSON.

"New York, 5 February, 1776

"My Dear Sir,

"Just as I was sitting down to write to you, I received yours by General Clinton, but have not as yet had an opportunity of seeing him. During the very few months I was with you at Boston, I expressed my wish of being able to make known at Philadelphia the disposition in England towards an accommodation upon liberal terms, and such as were founded in equity and candor.

"You then concurred with me in thinking, that however much those gentlemen, whose province it now is to think for the public, might be held up as aiming at a total separation, they had as their sole object such a reconciliation, as would give a constitutional security to their children. In this opinion I think we were not deceived. From all the conversation I had at Philadelphia with those gentlemen, who allow me, I hope, to rank among the number of their friends, I have every reason to think them most seriously disposed towards reconciliation; nor am I without hopes of success. Should such an event take place, it is not impossible but a deputation from hence may be found expedient, and in that case a passport requisite for a security against English cruisers. Such a passport must be left blank, for filling up names, and sent by the same conveyance that

this passes through. It will be needless to caution you against delay. My slight acquaintance with General Howe and Admiral Shuldham will furnish you with an apology for not making a more direct application.

"I continue, my dear friend, yours, &c.

"Drummond."

"P. S. Let me guard you against letting this get to the public, till we see how far my hopes are well grounded."

This letter was forwarded to General Washington at Cambridge, with the view of its being sent by him into Boston. Its extraordinary purport, coming as it did from a person of whom nothing was known as a negotiator, induced him to enclose it to Congress, retaining a copy only in his own possession. Congress instructed their President to inform the Commander-in-chief, that they highly approved his care and attention in stopping Lord Drummond's letter, and entirely concurred with him, in regard to his Lordship's officious and unwarrantable zeal. Hence the letter never found its way to General Robertson, and we hear no more of its author, till we find the Committee of Safety in New York exacting from him a parole of honor, that he would hold no correspondence directly or indirectly with those, who were in arms against the colonies, nor go into any port or harbour occupied by the enemy, nor on board their ships. His bearing and intercourse had been such, as to excite suspicions of his being too intimately concerned with the manœuvres of Governor Tryon, and his friends the Tories.

Towards the end of April, his Lordship obtained permission of the Committee of Safety to visit Bermuda for the benefit of his health, but he was not by this indulgence to be released from his parole. It happened, however, that in going out to sea through the Narrows, he found his way on board his Majesty's ship Asia, where he communicated with Captain Vandeput; and that, on his return, three or four months afterwards, he came directly into the harbour of New York, which was then thronged with the British fleet, and held intercourse with Lord Howe and other officers. Here it was that Lord Drummond's desire to become an agent in settling the differences between the two countries received a new impulse, and he drew up a set of articles, which he sent to Lord Howe with the following note.

"I take the liberty of sending enclosed the sketch of propositions referred to in my late conversation with your Lordship, which propo-

sitions I have understood the colonies were disposed not many months ago to make the basis of a reconciliation to Great Britain."

Lord Howe considered the propositions, and, on returning them, said in reply; —

"As I think they contain matter, that, on a conference and cool discussion, might be wrought into a plan of permanent union, I shall with great satisfaction embrace the first opportunity, that may be offered upon those grounds, to promote so desirable an event."

A copy of the propositions, and of the correspondence with Lord Howe, was transmitted to Washington by Lord Drummond with the following letter.

"17 August, 1776.

"Sir,

"Being deeply interested in the welfare of America, I think it my duty to communicate a matter of intelligence, which I flatter myself may be rendered conducive to the restoration of a desirable peace. And in this view I request your Excellency's permission to land at New York, to go directly to Philadelphia, in order to lay the same before the General Congress. In the course of a conversation I have had with Lord Howe, I perceive that the powers he is vested with, as well as his disposition for establishing an equitable and permanent peace, are altogether misunderstood by the colonies. For, in consequence of a sketch of some propositions being offered for his consideration, he very frankly assured me he was willing to confer upon those grounds with any gentleman of the greatest influence in this country.

"As I am at liberty to declare his sentiments, I have the honor to enclose for your Excellency's information a copy of my correspondence with his Lordship, and of the propositions referred to in his letter, which are the motives of my present request. Attending in the boat to be indulged with your answer, I have the honor to be your Excellency's most humble servant,

"Drummond."

This letter was immediately answered by General Washington, in terms that could not have been flattering to its author, as he was charged with a violation of his parole, which was plainly proved by his holding correspondence with the enemy, and going on board their ships. For this reason Washington added; — "I find myself under the disagreeable necessity of objecting to the mode of negotiating proposed, while your Lordship's line of conduct appears so exceptionable." All the papers, however, were submitted to Congress, and

the decision of that body was made known to Washington by the President.

"Philadelphia, 24 August, 1776.

"Sir,

"The late conduct of Lord Drummond is as extraordinary, as his motives are dark and mysterious. To judge the most favorably of his intentions, it should seem, that an overweening vanity has betrayed him into a criminal breach of honor. But whether his views were upright, or intended only to mislead and deceive, cannot at present be a matter of any importance. In the mean time, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that Congress highly approve the manner in which you have checked the officious and intemperate zeal of his Lordship. Whether his designs were hostile or friendly, he equally merited the reproof you gave him, and I hope for the future he will be convinced, that it is highly imprudent to attract the attention of the public to a character, which will only pass without censure when it passes without notice.

"The Congress, having considered the matter thoroughly, are of opinion to decline taking any public or further notice of his Lordship, or his letters, and particularly as you have so fully expressed their sentiments on the subject in your letter to him.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"John Hancock."

Thus ended Lord Drummond's proposals to act the part of a negotiator. He attempted to vindicate himself from the charge of having broken his parole, and to explain his conduct, but without success. The facts in the case were too obvious and indisputable to be extenuated by any testimony he produced, or by the mere assertion of honorable motives. When General Lee was a prisoner in New York the summer following, he became acquainted with Lord Drummond, and was prevailed upon by him to solicit from Washington a reëxamination of the affair, stating that his Lordship felt wounded at the treatment he had received, and expressing a conviction of his innocence. Washington replied with his usual firmness, that he had thoroughly investigated the subject at the time, that he had no disposition to injure Lord Drummond, that the impression left on his mind was deep and decided, and that no circumstances had since come to light, which tended to alter his opinion.

No. XIV. p. 307.

EVACUATION OF BOSTON.

The evacuation of Boston by the British troops, after having held possession of the town for eleven months, was a source of no less joy in America, than of astonishment in England. Intelligence of this event was published by the ministry on the 3d of May, in a short paragraph, which merely announced, that "his Majesty's forces had embarked from Boston with the greatest order and regularity, and without the least interruption from the rebels," and were destined for Halifax. Parliament being then in session, the subject was called up by the Duke of Manchester, on the 10th of May, who proposed a motion for an address to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to order the late despatches of General Howe and Admiral Shuldham to be laid before the House of Lords. A long and warm debate ensued, in which the ministers were severely censured for the recent occurrences in America.

The Duke of Manchester said;—"To come now, my Lords, to that which has cast the deepest stain on the glory of the British arms, to that which must rouse the indignation of all, who feel for her disgrace; the army of Britain, equipped with every possible essential of war, a chosen army, with chosen officers, backed by the power of a mighty fleet, sent to correct revolted subjects, sent to chastise a resisting city, sent to assert Britain's authority, has for many tedious months been imprisoned within that town by the provincial army, who, their watchful guards, permitted them no inlet to the country, who braved all their efforts, and defied all that their skill and abilities in war could ever attempt. One way indeed of escape is left; the fleet is still respected; to the fleet the army has recourse; and British generals, whose names never met with a blot of dishonor, are forced to quit that town, which was the first object of the war, the immediate cause of hostilities, the place of arms, which has cost this nation more than a million to defend. We are informed of this extraordinary event by a gazette, published by authority from government, in which it is related, that General Howe had quitted Boston; no circumstances mentioned to palliate the event, no veil but that of silence to cast over the disgrace. But, my Lords, though the government account is short and uncircumstantial, yet private intelligence, public report, on which, till it is with authenticity denied, I must rely, informs us, that General Howe quitted not Boston of his own

free will; but that a superior enemy, by repeated efforts, by extraordinary works, by the fire of their batteries, rendered the place untenable."

The Earl of Suffolk, in defence of the ministry, told the House that there was nothing extraordinary in the evacuation of Boston, that it was not intended to pursue the war in Massachusetts since the disaffection had become general, that orders had been sent out for a removal of the troops when the commander should think proper, and that he had resolved on this step ten days before it actually took place. "The noble Duke," he added, "says there must have been a convention between General Howe and the rebel commander, which, I do assure his Grace, was by no means the case; no convention, stipulation, concession, or compromise whatever, having been made. The General thought proper to *shift his position*, in order, in the first place, to protect Halifax, and, after that object was secured, to penetrate by that way into the interior country and pursue his future intended operations." The Marquis of Rockingham replied, after stating certain particulars, which had come through a private channel; — "If those accounts are true, of which I have very little doubt, your Lordships will perceive, though possibly there might have been no formal convention or capitulation signed, which I understood was avoided by the generals on both sides for particular reasons, that, in whatever manner the business might have been negotiated, it had every substantial requisite of a treaty or compromise, as much as if it had been ever so solemnly authenticated or subscribed. The troops were permitted to evacuate the town without interruption, because they engaged on the other hand not to burn or destroy it, either previous to their departure, or after they had got on board their ships." The same sentiments were expressed by Lord Shelburne, and other Lords in the opposition, but the minister persisted, that he had no knowledge or belief of such a matter.

The facts in the case, however, prove to have been very nearly as represented by the Marquis of Rockingham. The inhabitants of Boston, fearing the consequences of an attack, as General Howe had prepared to set the town on fire in such an event, were very anxious to avert a calamity, that would involve them in ruin. An informal statement was drawn up, signed by the Selectmen, addressed to nobody, but intended for General Washington. An exact transcript from the original is here inserted.

"Boston, 8 March, 1776.

"As his Excellency General Howe is determined to leave the town with the troops under his command, a number of the respectable in-

habitants, being very anxious for its preservation and safety, have applied to General Robertson for this purpose, who at their request has communicated the same to his Excellency General Howe, who has assured him, that he has no intention of destroying the town, unless the troops under his command are molested during their embarkation or at their departure, by the armed force without; which declaration he gave General Robertson leave to communicate to the inhabitants. If such an opposition should take place, we have the greatest reason to expect the town will be exposed to entire destruction. Our fears are quieted with regard to General Howe's intentions. We beg we may have some assurance, that so dreadful a calamity may not be brought on by any measures without. As a testimony of the truth of the above, we have signed our names to this paper, carried out by Messrs. Thomas and Jonathan Amory and Peter Johonnot, who have at the earnest entreaties of the inhabitants, through the Lieutenant-Governor, solicited a flag of truce for this purpose.

"John Scollay,
"Timothy Newell,
"Thomas Marshall,
"Samuel Austin."

This paper was taken to the lines at Roxbury, and given to Colonel Learned, who carried it to head-quarters. He returned, and wrote to the messengers, who had been the bearers of it as follows.

"Roxbury, 9 March, 1776.

"Gentlemen,

"Agreeably to a promise made to you at the lines yesterday, I waited upon his Excellency General Washington, and presented to him the paper handed to me by you, from the Selectmen of Boston. The answer I received from him was to this effect;—'That, as it was an unauthenticated paper, without an address, and not obligatory upon General Howe, he would take no notice of it.' I am, with esteem and respect, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

"Ebenezer Learned."

"To Messrs. Amory and Johonnot."

Notwithstanding this apparently uncompromising answer, yet, as the paper evidently conveyed the dispositions of General Howe, and as Washington could have no wish to destroy the town, but on the contrary the strongest motives for preserving it, no direct annoyance was afterwards offered to the British troops. Every thing was in

readiness to make an attack at a moment's notice, should any symptoms appear during the embarkation, that harm was intended to the town. This mutual understanding doubtless saved much destruction of property and much bloodshed.

When the Congress received intelligence of the evacuation of Boston, they resolved, "That the thanks of this Congress, in their own name, and in the name of the thirteen United Colonies, whom they represent, be presented to his Excellency General Washington, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct at the siege and acquisition of Boston; and that a medal be struck in commemoration of this great event, and presented to his Excellency; and that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a letter of thanks, and a proper device for the medal." The committee were John Adams, John Jay, and Stephen Hopkins.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"Philadelphia, 2 April, 1776.

"Sir,

"It gives me the most sensible pleasure to convey to you, by order of Congress, the only tribute which a free people will ever consent to pay, the tribute of thanks and gratitude to their friends and benefactors. The disinterested and patriotic principles, which led you to the field, have also led you to glory; and it affords no little consolation to your countrymen to reflect, that, as a peculiar greatness of mind induced you to decline any compensation for serving them, except the pleasure of promoting their happiness, they may without your permission bestow upon you the largest share of their affections and esteem.

"Those pages in the annals of America will record your title to a conspicuous place in the temple of fame, which shall inform posterity, that, under your direction, an undisciplined band of husbandmen in the course of a few months became soldiers; and that the desolation meditated against the country by a brave army of veterans, commanded by the most experienced generals, but employed by bad men in the worst of causes, was, by the fortitude of your troops, and the address of their officers, next to the kind interposition of Providence, confined for near a year within such narrow limits, as scarcely to admit more room than was necessary for the encampments and fortifications they lately abandoned. Accept, therefore, Sir, the thanks of the United Colonies, unanimously declared by their delegates to be due to you, and the brave officers and troops under your command;

and be pleased to communicate to them this distinguished mark of the approbation of their country. The Congress have ordered a golden medal, adapted to the occasion, to be struck, and when finished to be presented to you.

"I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*"

A private letter from Mr. Adams, written at the same time, will show the lively interest and the agency, which he took in the affair.

"SIR,

"I congratulate you, as well as all the friends of mankind, on the reduction of Boston; an event, which appeared to me of so great and decisive importance, that, the next morning after the arrival of the news, I did myself the honor to move for the thanks of Congress to your Excellency, and that a medal of gold should be struck in commemoration of it. Congress have been pleased to appoint me, with two other gentlemen, to prepare a device. I should be very happy to have your Excellency's sentiments concerning a proper one. I have the honor to be, with very great respect, Sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant,

"JOHN ADAMS."

The medal, which was struck in Paris, contains on the obverse a head of Washington in profile, exhibiting an excellent likeness, and around it the inscription;

GEORGIO WASHINGTON SVPREMO DVCI EXERCITVVM ADSERTORI LIBERTATIS COMITIA AMERICANA.

On the reverse is the town of Boston in the distance, with a fleet in view under sail. Washington and his officers are on horseback in the foreground, and he is pointing to the ships as they depart from the harbour. The inscription is

HOSTIBVS PRIMO FVGATIS BOSTONIVM RECVPERATVM XVII MARTII MDCCLXXVI.

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GENERAL SCHUYLER.

The artful and insidious attempts, that were made by the Tories, and others deceived by the false reports propagated through their means, to injure the character of General Schuyler, are the more worthy of notice, as they afford an explanation of the succeeding incidents, which attended the military fortunes of this active and patriotic officer. It should be premised, that the frontiers of the New England colonies, particularly New Hampshire and Massachusetts, were exposed to the inroads of the enemy from Canada by way of Lake Champlain, and that the people of Berkshire county, the New-Hampshire Grants, and even in the neighbourhood of Connecticut River, looked upon their salvation as depending on a vigorous defence in that quarter. When they found the whole army, therefore, retreating from Canada, and leaving all the upper parts of the Lake open to the ravages of the enemy, they were greatly alarmed for their own safety, and, in the midst of their murmurs of despair, they were ready to throw all the blame upon the commander of the northern department, and, in every case of ill success, to discover symptoms of criminal neglect, or more criminal treachery, on his part.

In this humor they were found by the Tories, who participated in the schemes of Governor Tryon, and who by their secret emissaries fanned the flame of suspicion, till it became general and was openly avowed. Committees of towns and districts assembled, and passed resolves, expressing distrust of General Schuyler, and insinuating weighty charges against his motives and conduct. Resolves of this kind were forwarded to Washington, and to the New York Provincial Congress. They of course made no impression, for all who were acquainted with General Schuyler knew, that there was not a truer patriot in America, nor one who labored more earnestly in the cause of his country; yet for his own information it was deemed a duty to make known these charges to him in their original shape. To a committee of the Provincial Congress, who had been the organ for communicating them, he replied; —

"I am much obliged to you for having taken prudent measures to prevent the evils, that might be occasioned by the scandalous and false reports, propagated to prejudice your respectable body and myself with the public. We must bear with the caprice, jealousy, and envy of our misguided friends, and pity them. Our Tory enemies we

must watch with care and circumspection, and convince our countrymen by our actions, that we are true sons of liberty. I have some reason to apprehend, that the Tories are not the only ones, that have been assiduous in propagating this story. In the district you mention are some persons, who applied for offices, which neither the Committee nor I could confer. This disappointment chagrins them, and I believe they have occasioned the report. I am much obliged to Mr. Trumbull for the step he has taken. It is something singular, that at the very time I was sending troops to apprehend Tories, to whom I am so obnoxious that they would not hesitate to assassinate me, the country below should be arming against me as a Tory."

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"Fort George, 28 May, 1776.

"Sir,

"Your Excellency's letter of the 21st instant, enclosing a copy of the infamous libel transmitted to you by the Committee of King's district, I received last night. Whilst this was only report, I treated it with contempt, without taking any notice of it; but it is now a duty, which I owe myself and my country, to detect the scoundrels; and the only means of doing this is by requesting, that an immediate inquiry may be made into the matter, when I trust it will appear, that it was more a scheme calculated to ruin me, than to disunite and create jealousies in the friends to America. Your Excellency will therefore please to order a court of inquiry the soonest possible; for I cannot sit easy under such an infamous imputation, since, on this extensive continent, numbers of the most respectable characters may not know what your Excellency and Congress do of my principles and exertions in the common cause. It is peculiarly hard, that at the very time that assassins and incendiaries are employed to take away my life and destroy my property, as being an active friend to my country; at the very time when I had taken measures and given orders, some of which are actually executed, to secure the Tories and to send them down to your Excellency, a set of pretended Whigs (for such they are that have propagated these diabolical tales) should proclaim me through all America a traitor to my country.

"*May* 31*st*. — I am informed by persons of good credit, that about one hundred persons, living on what are commonly called the New Hampshire Grants, have had a design to seize me as a Tory, and perhaps still have. There never was a man so infamously scandalized and ill-treated as I am, and I hope Congress will publicly do me

that justice, which I thank your Excellency for having done me in your letter of the 21st, if that respectable body is convinced (of which I make no doubt) of my zeal and attachment to the cause of my injured country. I am, dear Sir, ever most sincerely, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

"Philip Schuyler."

By the following letter addressed to General Washington, and expressing the sentiments of a public body, it would seem that there were some persons disposed to do justice to General Schuyler, notwithstanding the clamor raised against him.

"Great Barrington, 26 May, 1776.

"Sir,

"A Convention of the Committees of Berkshire and the parts adjacent have lately, by two expresses, communicated to your Excellency their suspicion of a plot being formed for the destruction of these United Colonies, by a combination of a number of persons among ourselves for that purpose; with the evidence upon which that suspicion was principally grounded. Amongst other persons accused, General Schuyler was one; whose important station would give him peculiar advantages to distress us by withholding support from the army in Canada, if he were inimically disposed. The said Convention, therefore, took all those methods they could devise, to find out the sentiments of the General; and it is with the greatest pleasure we are now able to acquaint your Excellency, that the Convention are satisfied that their suspicions respecting him were wholly groundless. That there has been a plan forming among our enemies in the colonies is beyond doubt, and we hope the whole will be soon brought to light; but that some wicked and designing men have greatly magnified it, and falsely asserted divers persons of distinction and merit to be concerned in it, in order to influence the timid and ignorant, and promote jealousies among us, is indisputable. The Committees of this town, Sheffield, and Canaan thought it their duty to acquaint your Excellency with the above, as perhaps it might have some influence upon your orders or conduct relating to these matters; and they have ordered me to inform you accordingly. This goes by express. By order of said Committees. I am your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

"Mark Hopkins."

A few days after this communication, another was received on the same subject, which is interesting chiefly as it exhibits in a condensed

form the charges of the people against General Schuyler, and the grounds of their complaint.

"Address of the Committees of Safety and Inspection for several Towns in the County of Berkshire, Massachusetts Bay, bordering on the Colony of New York, and with the Approbation of King's District in said Colony.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"We beg leave to lay before your Excellency the distresses of our minds with all humility. Fear of injuring our common cause by writing as well as speaking, on the one hand, or by silence on the other, has filled us with peculiar concern. The purport of this epistle is so delicate, that we write with fear and trembling, lest, when we mean to serve our country, we do it an irreparable injury. Purity of intention will not always secure us against wrong steps. We beg leave to assure your Excellency, that it is our hearty intention to support you in the defence of America against the tyranny and usurpation of Great Britain to the last extremity, and, if that is the pleasure of the Continental Congress, to the building up of a distinct republic or American empire. But what has filled our minds with a peculiar sense of danger to the common cause are the following things, which we take to be facts, though we may be deceived as to some of them.

"That General Schuyler has had the superintending oversight of our Canadian army; that, after the defeat of December 31st, 1775, at Quebec, in an attempt to take it by storm, recruits were forwarded in the slowest and most dilatory manner; that our army before the walls of Quebec, during a long and tedious winter, underwent every kind of hardship, and their spirits were broken by being neglected; that about the 4th of May so inconsiderable was the army, so miserably provided with provisions and ammunition, in a word, so greatly neglected, that it was obliged precipitately to raise the siege, and disgracefully to retreat, so as not only to leave those five hundred valiant sons of America taken within the walls of Quebec to the mercy of our enemies, but an additional number of sick to be disposed of at their pleasure; that General Schuyler some time last winter went on an expedition to subdue the internal enemies of this country, collected in arms against the country at Johnstown, and after the suppression of the said rebellion, the ringleader, Sir John Johnson, was not so much as put under moderate confinement; that the said Sir John Johnson has since collected a number of said en-

emies, as we suppose, and joined some of the King's forces in the upper forts, and raised a number of Canadians and Indians, and come down upon Colonel Bedel's regiment stationed at the Cedars, and taken them to a man, not less than about five hundred in number, many of whom were shot and others tomahawked in cool blood by the insatiable savages, after they were made prisoners; this we have from men of credibility, who were made prisoners at the same time, but found means to get away, the Colonel of said regiment being necessarily absent at the time of said fight; that our army has long been in a most deplorable situation in Canada as to provisions and intrenching tools, and we view them as in danger of being driven wholly out of those territories, which event we have but too much reason to fear will decide the fate of New England, and be of the most dangerous consequence to all the United Colonies; that the minds of many officers, soldiers, and others are greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of General Schuyler, and have great fears respecting his fidelity to his country, though they may be wholly without foundation, and we find a great backwardness in men to enlist in this expedition on this account.

"God forbid that we should harbour ungrounded jealousies of the deliverers, and, in a sense, saviours of our country, or wilfully shut our eyes against the greatest dangers. We beg leave to assure your Excellency, that we consider all the United Colonies but as one, and observe no other distinctions, than those of friends and enemies to their country. We indulge no private disgust or resentment; we are of no faction or party. We wish not to injure the reputation and glory of General Schuyler, were it in our power; we sincerely hope his name may be handed down with immortal honor to the latest posterity, as one of the great pillars of the American cause. We must not conclude, without assuring your Excellency of the utmost confidence placed in you by persons of all ranks and conditions, within the sphere of our knowledge. We can cheerfully rest in your wisdom under the direction of Him, who ruleth over all, for directing the military operations in general through this great continent, in conformity with the advice of the Continental Congress. We heartily pray for success to your arms and salvation to America; and that your disinterested services may meet with a glorious reward. By order of the Committee.

"Asa Douglass, *Chairman.*"

"Pittsfield, 7 June, 1776."

It needs only be added, that some of the above statements are not

entirely accurate, and that, as far as they are so, General Schuyler was in no degree censurable for the unfortunate occurrences therein enumerated, having done all in his power to provide against them. In their historical bearing, however, they are important, when regarded as showing the impressions of the people, and as connected with the events of the next year.

END OF VOL III.

CAMBRIDGE:
CHARLES FOLSOM, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY.